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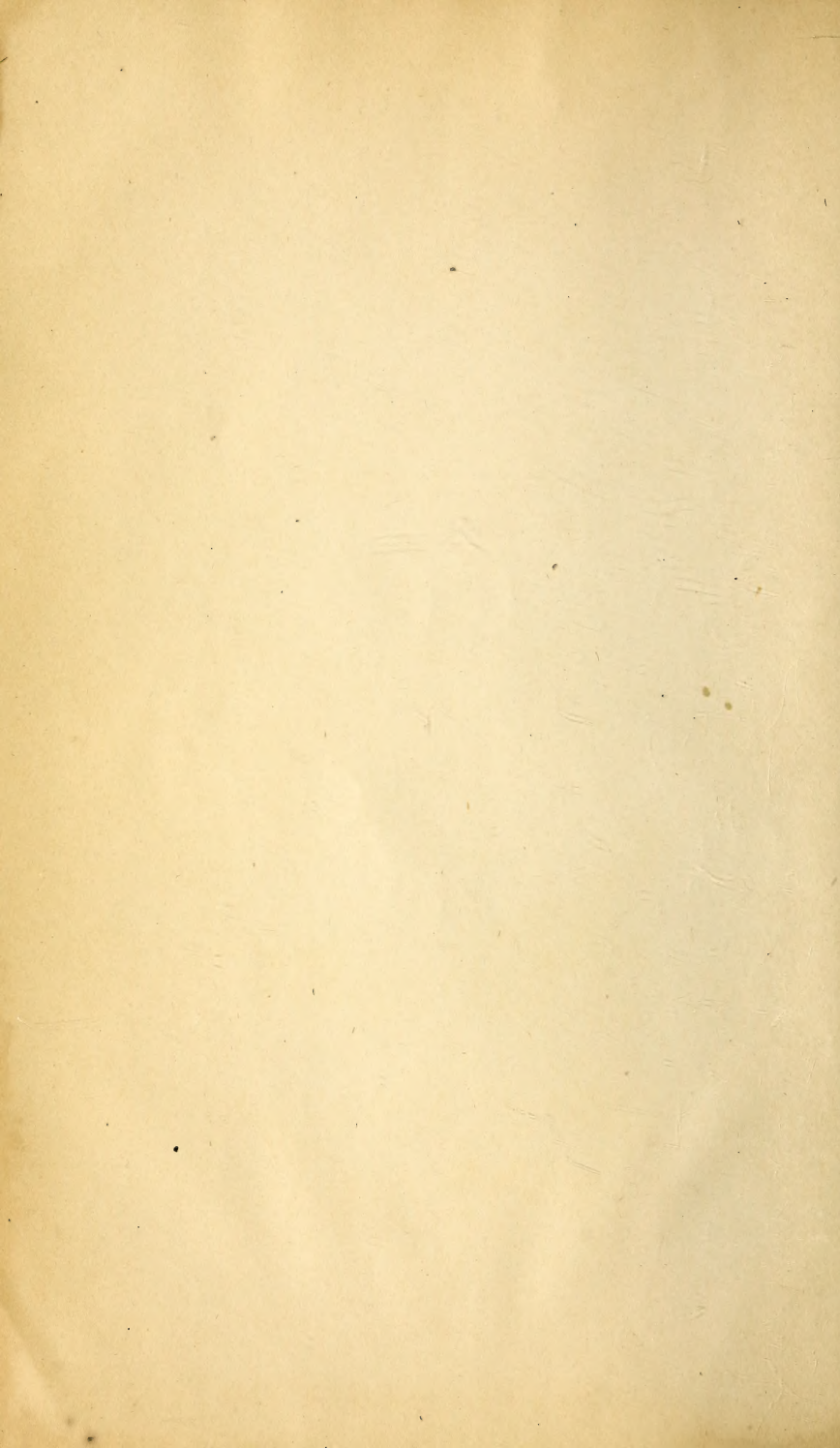




















to Sharp





*J Wood del*

*Pruett & Co. N.Y.*

*Capt. David Porter  
of the U. S. Navy.*



**JOURNAL OF A CRUISE**

MADE TO THE

**PACIFIC OCEAN,**

BY

**CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,**

IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE

**ESSEX,**

IN THE YEARS 1812, 1813, AND 1814.

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SECOND EDITION.

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TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,  
THE TRANSACTIONS AT VALPARAISO, FROM THE PERIOD OF THE AUTHOR'S  
ARRIVAL UNTIL THE CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX;  
THE FATE OF THE PARTY LEFT AT MADISON'S ISLAND, UNDER  
LIEUT. (NOW MAJOR) GAMBLE;  
AND AN INTRODUCTION, IN WHICH THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW, OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS JOURNAL,  
ARE EXAMINED, AND THE IGNORANCE, PREJUDICE, AND  
MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE REVIEWER EXPOSED.

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EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

**New-York:**

WILEY & HALSTED, 3 WALL-STREET

J. & J. Harper, Printers.

1822.

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Southern District of New-York, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED. That on the sixth day of July, in the forty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, Charles Wiley, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. Second Edition. To which is now added, the Transactions at Valparaiso, from the period of the Author's arrival until the Capture of the Essex; the Fate of the Party left at Madison's Island, under Lieut. (now Major) Gamble; and an Introduction, in which the Charges contained in the Quarterly Review, of the First Edition of this Journal, are examined, and the Ignorance, Prejudice, and Misrepresentations of the Reviewer exposed. Embellished with Engravings."

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an Act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

JAMES DILL,

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

15.32



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## ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I HAVE indulged many of my friends by permitting them to peruse my Journal, and all have requested me to publish it, assuring me, that the public expected me to give some detailed account of my cruise, and that it would be received and read with much interest. I had, however, formed a determination not to publish it, unless some imperfect account should be printed; in which case I intended to employ a friend to embellish and present it to you. I have waited from day to day; none other has appeared; my friends have become more pressing; and I have at length consented. I have snatched a moment from my public occupations to reperuse and give it to you, as it was written in the midst of anxious duties.

If there are faults in style and grammar (and no doubt there are many,) they are the faults of my education. I have only occupied myself with facts, and some few reflections arising from them. The whole is my own; and were it in a more polished state, this might be doubted.

Many readers will perhaps find some of my nautical remarks dry and uninteresting. Navigators will view them differently, and will not esteem them the less for not having had the ornamental touches of a fine writer.

I have not pressed my Journal on you; it has been extorted from me; and if it should not meet your expectation as to style, I hope facts will amply compensate you for your disappointment. If you admit this only, I will follow the practice of other navigators, and endeavour to find some friend who shall so ornament it for a second edition, as to put all cause of complaint out of the question.

D. PORTER.

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# PREFACE

TO

## THE SECOND EDITION.



ON the first publication of this Journal, the author took occasion to acknowledge its deficiencies, and to disclaim all pretensions to the honours of authorship. He stated that it was prepared in haste, and published without revisal, to gratify his friends rather than as a tribute to his own vanity.

The work was never republished in England, and therefore did not naturally come under the notice of an English Reviewer. The Quarterly Review states, that it is believed the copy in possession of the Reviewer, "is the only one which has crossed, or is ever likely to cross, the Atlantic." Yet notwithstanding, it was singled out for the purpose of making a pretended review of it, the vehicle for a bitter attack, not only on the person, but likewise on the veracity, honour, and humanity of the author. How far such a procedure may accord with the morality of criticism, the author knows not, nor wishes to know. But, in the ordinary course of things, it would seem that wantonly to stigmatize a work which the readers of a Review are never likely to see, is a species of reviewing equally unjust toward

the author of the work, and the public, which last has no opportunity of judging betwixt the parties.

It is not, however, the intention of the author of this Journal, to trouble the public with any complaints, or to appeal to its compassion. He is perfectly aware, that there was enough in his Book, to wound the feelings of Englishmen, since, without intending to do so, the mere relation of actions, in themselves unjustifiable or disgraceful, is often the severest satire. Whatever feeling he may have indulged toward an enemy, the mere summary of a few particulars will show that he was not without ample justification. It will be remembered that war existed between the United States and Great Britain; that the author, while in the strict discharge of his duty, and in the prosecution of a mode of warfare practised by all maritime nations, had been basely calumniated by the British press; that he had been treacherously attacked while in a crippled state, and, confiding in the sanctity of a neutral port, guarantied by the pledges of a British Officer, who, of all others, he had reason to believe might be trusted; that on his passage to the United States, under the protection of a cartel, he was detained by Capt. Nash of the British navy, and only escaped by taking to an open boat, at great risk, and at a distance of sixty miles from land. It may also be remembered, that he was declared by admiral Cochrane out of the pale of honour, and threatened with ignominious punishment in the event of being taken; that the terms "Pirate, Freebooter, Buccaneer," &c. were the epithets with which he was usually honoured by the British prints and British partisans; and that the usual language of both was, that "the scoundrel Porter deserved to be hanged alongside of the scoundrel Madison."



To these personal wrongs and outrages, were added others of a public nature, which were severely felt by every lover of his country. The burning of Washington and Havre de Grace ; the sacking of Hampton and Alexandria ; the ravages committed on the seacoast ; the scalplings of the western frontier, and the whole system of warfare stimulated by the love of plunder, and the hope of revenge, all were calculated to awaken feelings of keener hostility, than those which generally originate in national contests. The author does not enter into this recapitulation with a view of exciting a renewal of heart burnings, but simply to indicate, that if he occasionally indulged in any remarks derogatory to the character of the enemy, he was not without ample provocation.

But the author wishes to be perfectly impartial, and while he pleads in justification of his own feelings, is willing to offer some excuse for those of the Quarterly Reviewer. At the time the Review, of which the author proposes a short examination, was written, it may be recollected, the public feeling in England was excessively irritable on the subject of this country. The defeats of their ships of war, occurring so very frequently, and with so little variety, must have tired and disgusted them with their sameness ; while the failure of their armies ; the total defeat of all their plans of subjugation ; and, finally, the deplorable catastrophe of New Orleans, must necessarily have given them a general distaste to American literature, which was finally destined to record and perpetuate the memory of such mortifying disasters.

The author cannot therefore but confess, that the temper of the Reviewer toward himself, his brother Officers, and his countrymen at large, is not alto-

gether inexcusable. Still, however, he thinks it may fairly be questioned, whether the critic is quite justifiable in all his manifestations of ill humour. So far as he takes exceptions to his style or his physiognomy, the author willingly allows him to be as merry as a person in a great passion can reasonably be. It may also be allowed the critic to indulge in that singular display of splenetic and bitter folly, which prompts him to place an officer in the discharge of his public duties, on a par with, nay, below, the most renowned of the Bucaniers. All this is well enough ; indeed, it is better for the author than the critic, since it affords a clear indication of the spirit of candour which the latter brings to the aid of his judgment.

But here the indulgence of the author toward his critic must end. He was welcome to call names and make comparisons ; but when a writer, under the disguise of an advocate of religion and humanity, comes forth to assail the character and morals of another, he ceases to be either harmless or justifiable. It is with a view principally to the exposure of these imputations, and to vindicate the author's conduct, in situations where he is charged with outraging both decency and humanity, that Capt. Porter has taken the pains to examine the details of a great number of voyages, undertaken by various nations, and to compare the course pursued by the commanding officers with his own. His character as an officer ; his reputation as a man ; his morals, his religion, his humanity, have all been aspersed by the Reviewer, who, in order to make good his charges, triumphantly contrasts his conduct with that of the illustrious navigators of his own country. It is that conduct, which it is the intention of the author to pass in rapid review before his readers ; and if, in

quoting their own actions, as related in their own words, it should appear, that their intercourse with the natives, wherever they visited, was marked with circumstances to which this Journal affords no parallel, it is confidently expected that the charges of the Reviewer will revert to their true source, hostility to himself, and a settled prejudice against his country.

The very first page of the Review exhibits a clear indication of the spirit in which the critic undertook the task of examining this work. It is extracted at large, that the reader may not only have a fair opportunity of entering into the spirit of the Reviewer's feelings, but likewise of comparing the "style of a boatswain's mate" with that of a first rate classical critic. Says the Review—

"It will be thought superfluous, perhaps, to put the English reader on his guard against a book which he may never have an opportunity of perusing; for we believe that ours is the only copy which has crossed, or is likely to cross, the Atlantic:—if accident, however, should throw it in his way, or if some English publisher should be desperate enough to reprint it, it may save him both expense and trouble to be apprized of the fallacies held forth in the *lengthy* title page. We can assure him that he will look in vain for the promised description of the Cape de Verd islands,—or for that of the coasts of Brazil, or of Patagonia,—no part of the two latter of which, in fact, did the writer even see. For the rest, 'A sequel to the Adventures of the Bucaniers of America,' or to 'The History of the Pirates,' would, in our estimation, have been a far more appropriate title to this 'Journal of a Cruise,' than the one assumed. It would, however, be an act of injustice to the memory of the gallant Captain Morgan, the undaunted Ann Bonney, and many others of the same class, to associate with theirs the name of David Porter: to them we cannot refuse the merit of heroic courage and disinterested generosity; but our 'adventurer,' as we gather from his own narrative, is utterly destitute of both.



“In hinting at any similitude, however, we would not be understood to allude, in the most distant manner, to the capture or destruction of the whale-fishing vessels in the Southern Pacific, and the mass of individual distress occasioned thereby:—private property, met with on the sea, however innocently employed, is, by the practice of war, unfortunately excluded from that protection which is usually granted to it on shore. Our charges against Captain Porter are of a more flagitious nature, and out of his own mouth shall we condemn him.

“The style, or rather jargon of the book, is that of a boatswain’s mate; and with regard to any new information, nautical, geographical, or moral, it is so trifling in its extent, and of so little importance in any point of view, that the notice of it will not detain us long. By far the greater part of the book is occupied with a tedious detail of the author’s exploits in capturing unarmed whalers, in maltreating his prisoners, and in wantonly murdering unoffending savages, of all which he is hardy enough to make an exulting recital.”

The foregoing extract contains the substance of the principal charges brought against the author of this Journal. In a subsequent part of the Review, these charges are separately enforced, and sustained by various quotations from this work, together with various comparisons of the writer’s conduct, with that of English navigators, all which are of course to his disadvantage. These will be taken in the order in which they appear in the Review.

It is presumed, that most readers are acquainted in some degree with the history and character of this Capt. Morgan, with whom the author is thus brought into comparison. He was a native of Great Britain, and one of the most bloody and remorseless of all those desperate adventurers of the seventeenth century, who, without a commission from any power, made war on all, and committed the most horrible excesses, both by sea and land. Did his limits permit, and did the author not fear to outrage

the feelings of his readers, he would extract one or two instances of these atrocities. But, for the present, he will refer them to pages 189 and 193 of the history of the Bucaniers. It was written by an Englishman, who, with a proper regard to the honour of his countrymen, being, as usual, unwilling that they should lose the credit of being pre-eminent even in wickedness, makes the following characteristic remark in his preface. "A bolder race of men, both as to personal valour and conduct, certainly never yet appeared on the liquid element; *and I hope* it will be taken neither for an affront nor a compliment, to say the English were always the leading and prevailing party among them." The author cannot descend to make any defence to the charge implied in the supposed resemblance between his character and that of the English hero.

The first specified offence directly laid to his charge, is that of speaking "disrespectfully" of the troops and fortifications of Port Praya. To this he has no defence to offer, except that he said nothing but what was strictly true. Setting aside the authority of Cook's Voyages, and the author of lord Macartney's Embassy to China, the writer will refer to a narrative of a more recent date, and from the pen of a British Naval Officer. It fully justifies all that Capt. Porter says, and in fact presents a picture, so entirely similar, and in words so much alike, as almost to justify a suspicion of plagiarism on the part of Capt. Porter, had not he been fortunate enough to precede Capt. Tuckey in his publication.

"The fortifications," says Capt. Tuckey, "consist of what is here called a Fort, but which an Engineer would be puzzled to describe; and a line facing the Bay, of sixteen old iron guns, within a demolished parapet wall." "On the several high



platform points that surround the Bay, were also mounted some guns, each of these posts being guarded by a negro family. From the imposing appearance of these *Batteries*, it is, doubtless, that the Governor General expects that all vessels will notify their intention of sailing; nor could I refrain from a smile, when, after informing me that this was a necessary ceremony even for ships of war, he assured me that on hoisting a flag, he would immediately make a signal to the *Batteries* to let us pass," &c.

Thus much for the fortifications; now for the troops. "There are," says Capt. Tuckey, "no regular European troops here, (Port Praya) a few officers excepted, and the militia; one of whom may be seen standing sentinel every ten yards, in the town, perfectly in character with the fortifications, this corps being composed of *the most ragged, bare-legged, sans culotte, vagabond-looking wretches of all shades of colour, from the swarthy European Portuguese, to the negro of Guinea*; and as if it was determined that there should be no incongruity in any part of the military department, not one of their muskets in ten has a lock, and many of their barrels are lashed to the stocks with rope yarn." See Tuckey's Voyage, p. 93, 94.

The author has introduced these extracts without any view of blaming Capt. Tuckey. So far from it, he thinks that it is one special duty of a navigator to describe what he sees, and there are some objects to which only the strongest language can do justice. But having so far justified himself by the example of others, for speaking disrespectfully of the troops and fortifications of Port Praya, the author cannot but confess that he honours the nice feelings of the Reviewer. His solicitude on this

occasion for the character of other nations, is certainly highly consonant to the peculiar delicacy and forbearance of the Quarterly Review, and the scrupulous care with which it has avoided all national reflections, especially upon Americans, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians, Germans, Russians, Hindoos and Greeks. The character it has acquired for this species of high-born courtesy, justly entitles it to the guardianship of the reputation of nations, and most especially to the honour of defending the chivalry of Port Praya.

The next offence of the author consists in having ventured on some conjectures respecting certain phenomena of the trade winds, a subject on which almost every navigator has taken the same liberty of forming opinions. Such as they are, the author willingly leaves them to the judgment of his readers, nor would he have noticed the circumstance at all in this preface, but for one single reason. The Reviewer selects the word "rotatory," as a coinage of the author, who, however, in candour must yield it to "one" Sir Isaac Newton, to use the classical phraseology of the critic. It occurs more than once in the early editions of the Principia.\* The fashion perhaps has changed of late; but the author is not bound to follow the fashion. He has merely noticed this for the purpose of indicating the spirit in which his work has been reviewed.

We now come to the transactions at Fernando de Noronha, where it will be recollected the author possessed himself of a letter directed to Sir James Yeo, perfectly assured of its being written to himself by Commodore Bainbridge. Of this

\* See also Guthrie's Grammar, the astronomical part of which is by J. Ferguson, F. R. S. page 2. See also Rees's Encyclopedia, article Earth, Rotation, and a dozen other places.



transaction the Reviewer speaks in the following manner :—

“On approaching the small island of Fernando de Noronha, Captain Porter ‘disguises’ the Essex as a merchantman, hoists English colours, and sends his first lieutenant on shore, in plain clothes, to inform the governor that the ship was the ‘Fanny, Captain Johnson, from London, bound to Rio de Janeiro ;—short of water ;—crew sick of the scurvy ;—in want of refreshments ;—and unable to anchor, all the anchors being lost, and the cables bad.’ This ‘lie circumstantial’ procured him intelligence of two English frigates having been there the week before, and that the governor had a letter addressed to Sir James Yeo, of the Southampton, which had been left with him to send to England. In consequence of the latter part of this information, the lieutenant was a second time despatched with a ‘lie direct,’—‘that there was a gentleman on board who was intimately acquainted with Sir James Yeo, and was going from Brazils direct to England, who would take charge of the letter and deliver it to Sir James.’ The unsuspecting governor delivered the letter, which David Porter, Esquire, made no scruple to break open ; but the information it contained was rather alarming to the nerves of the fictitious Englishman, (and never was the name so disgraced before,) who immediately shifted his ground to avoid falling in with a British frigate. The sum of the information, therefore, concerning this island, is—that there are no females on Fernando Noronha—for no other motive that our author can conceive unless it be ‘to render this place of exile more horrible.’”

Now as it respects this nefarious transaction, the conduct of the author was perfectly justifiable. This Island was the place of rendezvous appointed by Commodore Bainbridge, who had been there, and left the letter addressed to Sir James Yeo, knowing, that from the circumstances within the knowledge of both, the author would possess himself of this letter. He had used the name of the

Acasta for his ship, because that ship had been left by us on the American coast, and there was no possibility of her being at Noronha, therefore Capt. Porter could not be deceived. The moment the letter was brought to him, he recognized the hand writing of Commodore Bainbridge, and he was therefore perfectly certain that it was in reality meant for himself. The whole affair is so obvious to the most ordinary perception, that the turn thus given it by the Reviewer, can only be accounted for upon the principle of a most singular want of apprehension, or a determination to distort the most innocent actions, into something directly opposite. With regard to the accuracy of his description of the Island of Fernando de Noronha, the author must refer the reader to De Ulloa's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 320.

The Reviewer next follows the author to the Island of St. Catherine's, where he is again accused, not only of speaking disrespectfully of the inhabitants, but of having never come within sight of the coast of Brazil, which he attempts to describe. The ignorance, as well as arrogance of this Review, is becoming somewhat proverbial, but the hardihood of this assertion is beyond the usual latitude allowed to either. It will be remembered that Capt. Porter cruised off Frio, and within sight of it for several days; that he captured the schooner Elizabeth close in with the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro; that he took in both his wood and water at St. Catherine's; and that both were procured from the Continent, that is, from the coast of Brazil, which is not distant more than a quarter of a mile. Capt. Porter was frequently ashore on the Island and main, and has only described what he saw. To test the accuracy of his account, it is only necessary to compare it with those of Anson, Wallis, Le Pey-



rouse, Langsdorff, and others who visited this place at different times. To give these descriptions in every instance, would swell this article to a bulk beyond that of the work it is intended to vindicate. The author is therefore, of necessity, compelled to content himself, except on extraordinary occasions, with referring the reader to the books themselves; trusting they will acquit him of the folly of appealing to authorities that do not corroborate his statements.

The only apology that can possibly be made for this unguarded assertion of the Reviewer, that in point of fact, the author never saw the coast of Brazil, is that of sheer ignorance. He certainly could not have known in what part of the world the island of St. Catherine is situated; that it is in some parts of it not more than four hundred yards from the coast of Brazil; and that the *Essex* was anchored between it and the continent. With regard to the crime of having enjoyed the hospitality of the people, and afterwards speaking disrespectfully of them, the author has no other excuse to offer, than that he spoke the truth, and that others have done so before him. Lord Anson and captain Cook, it will be seen by those who have read the Review of this Journal, are on all occasions held up to Capt. Porter, as examples of courtesy, humanity, and heroism—such as he may admire, but cannot possibly imitate. They are, by the authority of the Reviewer, placed at the summit of excellence in their kind; and, of course, whoever falls into their track, though ever so little, is entitled to no ordinary degree of credit.

Lord Anson, on his voyage round the world, touched at St. Catherine's, where he enjoyed the hospitality which Captain Porter is accused of having abused. Let us see what he says.

“They (the people of St. Catherine’s,) have now the honour to be governed by Don Jose Silva de Paz, a brigadier of the armies of Portugal. This gentleman has with him a garrison of soldiers, and has consequently a more extensive and better supported power than any of his predecessors; and as he wears better clothes, and lives more splendidly, and has besides a much better knowledge of the importance of money than they could ever pretend to, so he puts in practice certain methods of procuring it, with which they were utterly unacquainted.”

On the 27th of December, Commodore Anson discovered a sail, which on her entering the harbour he sent his boat on board. “She proved,” says Mr. Walter, “to be a Portuguese Brigantine, from Rio Grande: and though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the greatest civility to the master, and had refused to accept a calf, which the master would have forced upon him as a present; yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace between the two crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. He at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper cause than Don Jose’s insolence; but we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and opening letters,” &c. But Mr. Walter goes on to state, that the governor was afraid this visit might be the means of “finding proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and disclosing the secret of his smuggling correspondence with the neighbouring Governors, and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres.”\*

The author will pass by the remarks of the

\* Anson’s Voyage, Mentz and Frankfort, English Edit. pp. 56. 66.



critic on his address to the crew of the *Essex*, previous to his steering for the Washington Islands. He had no temptations of double pay to offer them, like Byron and Anson, nor was it necessary. Their constancy was exemplary on all occasions; nor will the author shrink from a comparison which can be fairly drawn between their conduct and that of any other crew that ever doubled Cape Horn. Still they were sailors, wearied by long and arduous service, and requiring some excitement to keep up their spirits, on occasions so trying to their constancy, at a moment of announcing to them a destination so remote, and so long a continuance of their voyage. It answered every purpose; and general Packenham probably had it in mind, when he gave as the signal for attack at New Orleans, the words "booty and beauty:" two words exceedingly significant. The general, however, in his desire of imitation, probably forgot that there is a wide difference between authorized and unauthorized modes of warfare; and that to ravish and pollute by force a civilized matron, is not altogether analogous to the acceptance of favours willingly offered by savages, and involving neither infamy nor guilt.

The Reviewer next proceeds to ridicule the statement of the dangers and difficulties of doubling Cape Horn, and to assert that "*February*" is the best month for that purpose. The author will therefore proceed to show, that he has not stated a single fact, but what is corroborated by other navigators.

Captain Colnet says, "I have doubled Cape Horn in different seasons; but were I to make another voyage to this part of the globe, and could command my time, I would most certainly prefer

the *beginning of the winter itself*, with moonlight nights; for in that season the winds begin to vary to the eastward." Colnet's Voyage, p. 19. Colnet doubled it in April, and had a favourable time; whereas Anson and Bligh attempted it in March, a summer month, in those latitudes. The former succeeded, under incredible difficulties; the latter failed, and bore up for the Cape of Good Hope.

When after twelve days of continued efforts, captain Bligh found himself driven more than six degrees out of his course, he expresses himself as follows: "It was with much concern I saw how hopeless, and even unjustifiable, it was, to persist any longer in attempting a passage this way to the Society Islands. We had been thirty days in this tempestuous ocean. At one time we had advanced so far to the westward as to have a fair prospect of making our passage round; but from that period, hard gales of westerly winds had continued without intermission, a few hours excepted, which, to borrow an expression in Lord Anson's Voyage, "were like the elements drawing breath to return upon us with redoubled violence." The season (April) was now too far advanced to expect more favourable winds and weather, and we had sufficiently experienced the impossibility of beating round against the wind, or of advancing at all without the help of a fair wind, for which there was little reason to hope." Bligh's Voyage, p. 33.

In speaking of this passage round the Cape, Langsdorff says, "The captain thought it right to hasten his departure as much as possible, as it was by no means desirable to sail round Cape Horn very late in the season. The *frightful pictures given by Commodore Anson, of the passage round this*

*Cape, at an unfavourable period, and the many hardships endured by Captains Bligh, Wilson, and others, whose descriptions were now the daily subjects of our conversation, rendered all equally desirous that no unnecessary delays should be made, so as to endanger our experiencing any thing similar."* Langsdorff, p. 77. For the dangers and difficulties the Russian navigator encountered in his passage round the Cape, the author must content himself with referring the reader to pages 79, 80, 81, and 82, of Langsdorff.

The author has reserved the account of the *Preux Chevalier* of all voyagers, *Commodore Anson*, as the last authority he shall produce on this head.

"Some among us had lately treated the dangers and difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with in this undertaking, as little better than chimerical; and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness, than from the embarrassments of the winds and seas. But we were now severely convinced, that these censures were rash and ill grounded; for the distresses with which we struggled for nearly three months, will not easily be paralleled in the relation of any preceding expedition. From the storm which came on before we had well got through the Straits *Le Maire*, we had a continued succession of such tempestuous weather, as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms, were inconsiderable gales compared with the violence of the winds, which raised such short, and, at the same time, such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe; and it was not without



reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terrors; for, had any of these waves fairly broke over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom.”\*

The whole of the history of Anson's passing Cape Horn, consists in the relation of storms, terrors, and disasters; and the account concludes with their losing sight of two of the squadron, the *Severn* and *Pearl*, neither of which was ever seen by them afterwards.

It is presumed that sufficient has now been adduced to prove, that the Quarterly Reviewer is entirely ignorant of the subject, or that he wilfully conceals his knowledge, to the infinite detriment of his readers. That forty or fifty whalemén, every year, achieve the passage round Cape Horn, does not prove that the author might not have encountered great difficulties in so doing. If it proves any thing, it is, that these whalers are more fortunate than Anson, Bligh, Krusensteirn, and the author; since the latter all agree in their accounts of this passage.

The Reviewer next accuses the author of hostility to the memory of La Perouse: with how much justice, the following passage from page 89 of the first edition of this work, will show. “I have the utmost respect for the memory of that celebrated navigator, (La Perouse,) and regret I should have cause to differ with him in opinion, in any point, and particularly one of so much importance as the doubling of Cape Horn from the East. Indeed, ample as has been the information he has given on every other subject that has come under his notice, I am almost induced to believe that many of his observations

\* Anson's Voyage, Mentz and Frankfort, English edit. pp. 92, 93. 101. The author quotes this as being the only one in his possession.

on this matter have been suppressed by his Editors," &c. Finally, the Reviewer concludes his remarks on the doubling of Cape Horn, by suggesting, that the motive for all this "blustering" about the dangers of the passage, was, that it might be made to appear the *Essex* was crippled in the voyage, and the reader be thus prepared for her capture, "by an inferior force!" The author makes no reply to this: he has never, on any occasion, urged any excuse for the loss of his ship, nor is it probable he ever will.

The next curious display of ignorance in the Reviewer will be found in the following passage; "The defect in their teeth," says the critic, "is ascribed by him to the inordinate use of *matte*, a decoction of the herb of Paraguay, (what the herb of Paraguay is, European botanists have not yet ascertained,) sweetened with sugar, and taken without much regard to delicacy." The author regrets the ignorance of European botanists, and, for their information, begs leave to refer them to the following authorities:

"Their annual revenues, (the Missionary Jesuits of Paraguay,) consisted in cotton, tallow, leather, honey, and above all, in *matte*; a plant better known by the name of Paraguay tea, or South Sea tea, of which that company had the exclusive commerce; and of which, likewise, the consumption is immense in the Spanish possessions in America, where it is used instead of tea." Bougainville, p. 103.

"Another common liquor in this country, is the *matte*, which answers to tea in the East Indies, though the method of preparing it is something different. *It is made from an herb which in all these parts of America is known by the name of Paraguay,*

*as being the produce of that country."* Ulloa's Voyage, p. 270, vol. i. The same writer then proceeds to describe the mode in which it is taken, which is precisely as the writer of this Journal has stated. The difference in the style, and the remarks on the teeth and mouths of the drinkers of matte, proceed probably from the latter having written his account under the immediate impression arising from the unpleasant practice of drinking out of the same spout. He takes, however, the earliest opportunity of making atonement to the ladies of South America, by omitting these reflections, and of bearing testimony to the kindness experienced by his wounded sailors from those of Valparaiso.

The remarks on the manners and customs of the people of Valparaiso, were made by the author at his first visit to that place, and if the reader requires any corroboration, he is referred to the following authority: Captain Vancouver states, that "the town of Valparaiso, not affording any taverns, or places for the reception and accommodation of strangers, we were obliged to intrude on the hospitality of its inhabitants," &c. "These civilities were conferred so handsomely, as at once to relieve us from any idea of our being intruders; the pleasure that every one manifested in entertaining us, completely removed every sentiment but that of gratitude on our part, for the repeated acts of kindness they so obligingly bestowed." Vol. iii. p. 407. He then demonstrates this gratitude by remarks similar to the following, upon the inhabitants of this part of the world. "Indolence and superstition appeared to influence the whole of their conduct, which was marked with a greater degree of uncleanness, and those characteristics that dis-



tinguish the lowest orders of society, than I had before witnessed among any people who had ever had the advantage of living among those connected with the civilized world." On another occasion he says, "we were received with the most cheerful affability, particularly by the younger part of the sex, among whom we noticed several faces which, even by the side of our fair countrywomen, might have been considered as pretty, had not the intolerably nasty custom of painting both red and white, destroyed the natural delicacy of their complexion," &c. He also speaks of the universal prevalence of the custom of drinking *matte*, an infusion of the herb of Paraguay. The author has been induced to make these extracts from Vancouver, to show that he enjoyed the hospitality of the natives of Valparaiso, yet did not conceive himself precluded from making such remarks as were justified by the habits and manners of the people. The author had another object—to exhibit the folly of the Quarterly Reviewer, in thus stigmatizing as ignorance, the mention of an herb which has been known familiarly to the world for nearly two centuries; and branding with the stigma of ingratitude, the statement of facts, corroborated in language quite as expressive, by the vaunted navigators of his own country.

The next attack of the Reviewer is on Mr. Adams, chaplain of the Essex.

"In the muster-roll of the crew we found the name of 'David Adams, *chaplain*.' Knowing the economy as well as the 'philosophy' of Mr. Madison's government, this appointment took us by surprise; since, with the exception of a lively sally of Captain Porter against the pig-headed *protestants*, who prefer *prayers* on a Sunday to debauchery and rebellion; and a desperate threat 'to set

fire to the magazine and blow up the crew to *eternity*,<sup>9</sup> (words which might have been picked up by the captain in conversation with such a person,) we could not perceive the slightest indication that any one on board the *Essex* had any better notion or knowledge of a God, or of any thing connected with religion, than the inhabitants of *Terra del Fuego*. But our surprise was gratuitous, and originated merely in ignorance of the American language, in which the word *chaplain* does not mean what it does in English, but a sort of Jack-of-all-trades. In fact this worthy character, whom we injuriously suspected of enjoying a sinecure, appeared, on examination, to be one of the most efficient men on board. His name occurs in three places, in the first of which he acts as prize-master, in the second as superintendent of the boiling of blubber, and in the third as a kind of deputy surgeon's mate."

The author has extracted this passage principally with a view to giving a specimen of the fine vein of humour running through the whole performance, and of the facility with which an exemplary regard to religion may be coupled with the grossest ribaldry. With regard to the character of Mr. Adams, little need be said. Those who are acquainted with his pure morals, his amiable manners, his great scientific attainments, and his indefatigable activity in the discharge of every duty confided to him, need not be told, that as chaplain of the *Essex*, he never disgraced his station. That he acted on one occasion as prize-master, was owing to the circumstance of every officer of the ship that could possibly be spared, having been sent out of her to take care of the different prizes. Indeed, the number of prizes, and the multiplicity of duties consequent to the situation of Captain Porter's ships, rendered it indispensable that every person should be employed. If the Reviewer had paid due attention to Mr. Adams, he would have found

him also acting as assistant surgeon, and gratifying the benevolence of his heart by administering to the sufferings of his shipmates. Again, he might have discovered Mr. Adams employed in promoting geographical and mathematical knowledge; in drawing and surveying, and in performing all the duties of his station, with a degree of attention as well as of ability, honourable to himself, and highly useful to his country.

In noticing various particulars connected with the author's visit to the Gallapagos, the Reviewer is indifferently comical on the subject of the tortoises which abound in those islands. To all the wit the Reviewer can possibly muster, he is right welcome; but as he couples his jests with an insinuation prejudicial to the author's veracity, the paragraph may seem to require a refutation.

"Captain Porter next visits the Gallapagos Islands, where land tortoises, we are told, are to be obtained in great plenty; as indeed we should conclude from their name, 'The Islands of Tortoises:' but we were not aware that they reached the weight of four hundred pounds each, or that after living a year without food or water, they would be found 'greatly improved in flavour.' They grew no doubt since honest Dampier's time, who thought he should hardly gain credit in stating, 'one of the largest of these creatures to weigh one hundred or two hundred pounds, and some of them to measure two feet six inches over the challopel, or belly.'"

To the authority of Dampier, (which, by the way, is here very vague and indefinite,) the author will oppose that of Colnet, an Englishman, and a navy officer, whose veracity, it is presumed, will on these accounts pass current with the Reviewer, although the latter appears to have been quite ignorant of his ever having existed. If it were not too pre-



suming, the author would here take the freedom of hinting to the critic, that it is necessary to read a little in order to be able to detect either mistakes or misrepresentations in the writings of others. "Honest Dampier" is not exclusive authority, even for the magnitude of a turtle. Colnet says, "Several of these land tortoises were seen within land, as well as on the seacoast, which, had they been in flesh, would have weighed three hundred weight, but were now scarcely one-third of their full size." Speaking of these islands, he observes, "The woods abound with tortoises, doves, and guanass." "There is great plenty of every kind of fish that inhabit the tropical latitudes; mullett, devil fish, and green turtle were in great abundance. But all the luxuries of the sea yielded to that which the Island afforded us in the land tortoise, which, in whatever way it was dressed, was considered by all of us, as the most delicious food we had ever tasted. The fat of these animals, when melted down, was equal to fresh butter; those which weighed from thirty to forty pounds were the best, and yielded two quarts of fat; some of the largest, when standing on their feet, measured near a yard from the lower part of the neck."\*

But let us pass on to the next charge, insinuation, or whatever the reader may choose to call the following passage of the Review :

"We have dwelt thus long on these interesting creatures, so 'like elephants,' for lack of better matter, though the Gallapagos supplied other objects of which a skilful traveller would have availed himself for the instruction and amusement of his readers : they are, for instance, *all volcanic, and in a state of activity*; and these volcanoes are apparently *fed by a constant indraught of the sea* towards the group of islands; they abound too with a great

\* Colnet's Voyage, pp. 52. 157.

variety of plants and animals, and though their situation is directly under the equator, the climate is so moderate as to resemble that of the temperate rather than that of the torrid zone: but matters of this kind are beneath the observation of Mr. Porter. He tells us, however, that the temperature of the air of the Gallapagos islands varies from  $72^{\circ}$  to  $75^{\circ}$ , and he mentions an object which he encountered on landing, that created both surprise and alarm. 'On entering the bushes we found myriads of guanas, of an enormous size, and the most hideous appearance imaginable; the rocks forming the cove were also covered with them, and, from their taking to the water very readily, we were induced to believe them a distinct species from those found among the keys of the West Indies. In some spots a half acre of ground would be so completely covered with them, as to appear as though it was impossible for another to get in the space. They were harmless,' the captain adds, 'and as good for eating as the tortoises.' "

There is much wilful perversion of the meaning and language of the author, as well as philosophical ignorance, in this extract from the Review. In the first place, these Islands are, as the author has stated, "all volcanic," but by no means "all in a state of activity," as the critic asserts. The only volcanoes seen in a state of activity were, four on Marlborough, one on Albemarle, and one on Charles' Island. The author certainly did not load his Journal with a recapitulation of all the theories on this subject, as detailed in the Encyclopedia; nor, if he had been inclined to enter on the subject, would he have probably agreed with the philosophical Reviewer, who so innocently, yet positively asserts, that these volcanoes are all "fed by a constant indraught of the sea towards the Islands." For this neglect in not adopting and enforcing a theory patronized by St. Pierre and the Quarterly Review, opposed by Hutton, Blake, Hall, Clarke, and others, and ridiculed by Play-

fair in the sixty-fourth number of the Edinburgh Review, it is hoped the author will be pardoned by the reader. It certainly appears, from this passage of the Quarterly Review, that the critic was really ignorant that the theory of St. Pierre was and is considered, if not ridiculous, at least visionary and extravagant. The author was not satisfied, as to the true cause of volcanic eruptions, and therefore did not pretend to account for them.

As respects the charge of having neglected those objects in Natural History, &c. which are said to abound in these Islands, it cannot escape the consideration of the reader, that it is in a great degree unfounded. The only remarkable animals found there, are the turtles and guanias, both which have been described, but in a manner, it would seem, not at all to satisfy our critic, who is assuredly difficult to please, since he equally finds fault with what the author says, or omits to say. The business of the author was, however, of a different nature than that of making researches in natural history or philosophy. He sailed from his country in a ship of war, in time of war, and with objects exclusively warlike. He carried with him no college of learned men, to give Latin names to the herb of Paraguay, or to detect the operations of nature in the hidden recesses of volcanic reservoirs. He went to wage war against the enemies of his country, and to destroy their means and resources; and he succeeded beyond his expectations. What inquiries he did make, were principally as a navigator, and to navigators he appeals, whether the observations he made, and the directions he has given, are not only correct, but useful.

Were the author to select and remark upon every instance of deplorable ignorance, downright and wilful misrepresentation, or sneering malevolence,



in this pretended review of his Journal, he would scarcely ever have done. It is therefore necessary to the reader's patience and his own, that he should pass by the more insignificant of these, for the purpose of noticing more at large, some of a far more important description, at least as respects his character for humanity and decorum. It was with a view to vindicate himself from these aspersions, that the author undertook the task of exposing the ignorance and malevolence of the critic; and to these he will principally confine himself in the remainder of this article.

It is made one of the principal charges against Captain Porter, that he has taken occasion to compare his cruise, and the damage done to the enemy in the Pacific, to the voyage and the exploits of Commodore Anson, of whom Lord Waldegrave says, "Lord Anson was dismissed from the admiralty; a violent clamour having been raised against him, of which he was no more deserving than of the high reputation which preceded it." The Reviewer takes occasion to reject this comparison with horror, and to contrast the author's coming home as a prisoner in one of his prizes, with the return of Anson, with a most triumphant sneer.

"Anson and Cook," he says, "were men of high courage, honour, and generosity. Cook in particular, (of whom David Porter Esquire, speaks with insolent contempt,) was born for all ages and countries," &c. *"It is impossible to read the voyages of these great men without an expansion and elevation of mind. The best feelings of our nature are interested in their adventures; and we accompany them through a captivating alternation of suffering and success, with pity, respect, and triumph."* In toiling through the Journal of Captain Porter, the mind shrinks back upon itself; we read of

nothing from page to page, but "painting," "disguising," "new dressing," and a number of other little artifices, in which the huckster contends with the ———; or of an interminable series of unprovoked aggression, extortion, and cruelty, which convert disgust into horror."

Such are the charges, and such the comparison instituted between the author and the illustrious names arrayed against him.—It is at all times a painful task to disturb the ashes of the dead, or to strip the grave of the honours bestowed upon it by kindred affection, or national vanity. But the author has been described by the English Reviewer as a fiend; painted in the blackest colours, and bitterly and contemptuously opposed to these two men, as affording, in every respect, a complete contrast of profligacy and inhumanity, to their pure and lofty characters. The authorized practices and stratagems of war pursued and adopted by him, have been held up as something inconceivably horrible; and every act of his, whether in the character of a man or an officer, scrupulously, wantonly, and maliciously represented, as equally unjustifiable and unparalleled. If then, in the course of attempting a vindication, not only of his own conduct, but of the language used towards that of others, it becomes his duty to strip the shroud from the dead, and to paint the deeds of these heroes, not in the language of reprehension, but in that of friendly eulogy, as they are recorded by themselves, let not Captain Porter be blamed. The task has been forced upon him; it is necessary to his own justification—and it shall be performed. The Americans have been too long the dupes of names.

The reader will find an enumeration of the vessels belonging to the British, taken in the

South Sea, in the letter to the Secretary of the navy, giving a detail of Captain Porter's operations, and the capture of the *Essex*. This detail being in substance nearly the same as that in the first edition of this Journal, the latter has been omitted in the present, as it was thought an unnecessary repetition. From this letter the reader will judge of the damage done by the *Essex* in her cruise.

With regard to the operations of Anson's *fleet*, to which Captain Porter took the freedom to compare his own, it will not be necessary to follow his lordship through the early chapters of his voyage; to recall the reader's attention to the dangers of his passage round Cape Horn, his stay at Juan Fernandez, his constant dread of the enemy, nor his brilliant capture of eight unarmed ships; and above all, his threats and cruelties to his prisoners. To mark the high character for "honour and generosity," which is so much insisted on by the Reviewer, it will only be necessary to extract some of the particulars of his lordship's attack on Payta, a defenceless Spanish town in South America. We shall first give some extracts from the English account of the voyage, drawn up by Mr. Walter, chaplain to his lordship, and then the account of Don Juan de Ulloa, a Spanish navigator, a man of undoubted veracity.

The town of Payta was attacked in the night, and taken without the loss of a man; "but the shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew." This was the greatest danger they encountered. The town was, however, plundered and set fire to, because the Governor, who had made his escape, would not deliver himself up, and ransom the place. "We had finished," says chaplain Walter, "sending the



treasure on board the Centurion, the evening before; so that on the third morning, being the 15th of November, *the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town: and the Commodore, intending to sail in the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore; giving orders to lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches, under a strict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. Brett was at the same time, ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches, (which, by good fortune, stood at some distance from the houses,) and then he was to abandon the place, and to return on board. These orders were punctually complied with; for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles, (of which great quantities were found here,) into houses situated in different streets of the town; so that the place, being fired in so many different quarters at the same time, the destruction might be the more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it."*

"The flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and had got such hold, both by means of combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of which the houses were composed, and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers,) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandise left therein. *A whole town on fire at once, especially where the buildings burnt with such facility and violence, being a very singular spectacle, Mr. Brett had the curiosity to delineate its ap-*

*pearance, together with that of the ships in the harbour, as may be seen in the twenty-fourth plate.”\**

Here now, is a modern Nero, calmly sitting down to delineate the beautiful spectacle of a burning town, and a whole community left without property, or house, or home! Chaplain Walter then proceeds very coolly, and without a single remark on the unnecessary barbarity of this conflagration, to count up the money.

“And now, before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, it may not perhaps be improper to give a succinct relation of the booty we got here, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained.” He says the Spaniards estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars, and continues: “As to ourselves, the acquisition we made, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet far from despicable; for the wrought plate dollars, and other coin which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of £30,000 sterling, *besides several rings, bracelets, jewels, &c.* whose intrinsic value we could not determine.” “Upon the whole,” says he, “it was by far the most important booty we met with upon that coast.”†

Such is the most brilliant feat performed by Commodore Anson during the whole course of his voyage. From their own admission as just quoted, it will appear, that the town was surprised and taken in the night, without the loss of a man, the governor having ran away, and the soldiers deserting the only fort it possessed; that it was plundered, and the jewels, bracelets, &c. of ladies, pilfered to put into the general stock; that it was afterwards set on

\* Anson's Voyage, Mentz and Frankfort edit. p. 237, 238, 241, 242.

† Anson's Voyage, p. 243.

fire in a great many places at once, to preclude the possibility of its being extinguished; and that lieut. Brett took a view of the burning, for the purpose of ornamenting the History of the Commodore's voyage. Yet for all this, such was the veneration of the Spaniards for this great officer, that chaplain Walter affirms, a jesuit of Lima, as they were told, "actually interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense, that article of his church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved,\* purely to give the Commodore a chance of salvation!

Don Juan de Ulloa, who visited Quito about this period, after relating the surprise and capture of Payta, pretty much in the way it is stated by Mr. Walter, gives the following additional facts.

"There was, unfortunately, at *Paita*, great quantities of meal, fruits, and brandy, consigned to the provinces of the mountains by the way of Piura; besides other goods deposited in warehouses, to be sent to Panama. There was also no small quantity of gold and silver. As soon as daylight returned, the English left their retreat, (the Fort,) and seeing every place forsaken, they began to enter the houses, which are so many magazines for goods. It was not long before they met with a quantity of brandy and wine, of which, like men whose appetites are not to be governed at the sight of plenty after long distress, they made a very licentious use, and became so greatly inebriated, that the mulattoes and negro slaves, seeing their condition, abandoned their fears, and became so familiar with the English sailors, as to drink with them, while others carried off hampers of goods of their masters, together with considerable quantities of gold, which they buried in the sand. The long boat, however,

\* Anson's Voyage, p. 246.



returned on board the ship, but her chief spoils consisted of provisions; and the men engaged in that service, regaled themselves with a degree of intemperance equal to those who guarded the fort.

“The inhabitants of Païta, who still continued timorously in the mountains, though in want of every thing, despatched an express to Don Juan de Vinatea y Torres, the corregidor of Piura, and a native of the Canaries, who, agreeably to his known character for prudence and intrepidity, immediately assembled all the militia of that city and its dependencies, and hastened, by forced marches, through a troublesome sandy road of fourteen leagues, to Païta. The English had been three days masters of Païta, when, discovering these succours, and being informed by the negroes and mulattoes, that the militia of Piura, headed by a famous general, were coming to dislodge them from the town, enraged at this, and wanting courage to defend what they had gained, or rather surprised, carried off whatever they could, and took their leave, ungenerously setting fire to the houses: an action which could reflect but little honour on the arms of the nation, but was rather a malicious transaction, to revenge, on the poor inhabitants, the coming of the militia, whom they did not dare to face. Nobody indeed imagined at that time, that this proceeding was in consequence of any orders issued by the Commander, and it was afterwards known that he was under great concern for such unjustifiable behaviour.”\* But what says Mr. Walter, Commodore Anson’s chaplain, and the historian of his voyage? “Mr. Brett was, at the same time, ordered to burn the whole town,” &c. Ordered by whom? By his commander, Commodore Anson,

\* Ulloa’s Voyage, vol. ii. pp. 201, &c.

certainly. The liberality with which Ulloa exonerates him from this barbarity, only proves that the other facts he has related, are neither invented nor exaggerated.

The remainder of the Commodore's exploits may be summed up in the capture of the Manilla ship, and the return to England with his single vessel—the rest of his squadron having been lost, or destroyed. The reader may, if he pleases, compare the surprise and sacking of Païta; the plundering of its defenceless inhabitants; the debaucheries of the sailors; the seduction and encouragement of slaves to plunder, and run away from their masters; and lastly, the wanton conflagration of the town, from no motives but cowardice, and revenge for the loss of its remaining plunder, with similar outrages at Havre de Grace, Hampton, Washington, and elsewhere, execrated by all civilized nations. He may then also compare the events of Capt. Porter's cruise, and the damage done to the English commerce, in open, honourable warfare, to the boasted exploits of Commodore Anson, which, as the Reviewer affirms, it is impossible to contemplate, "without an expansion and elevation of mind!"

The author will now take his leave of Commodore Anson, and proceed to a short investigation of the character, conduct, and discoveries of Captain Cook, the other navigator, who has been triumphantly exhibited by the Reviewer, as an example to all succeeding commanders. If in so doing, it chance to happen, that he shall be stripped of his borrowed plumes, and on the authority of his own historians, deprived not only of the honours of those discoveries so loosely ascribed to him by the world; and, what is of still greater consequence, proved utterly devoid of justice, or humanity, to the natives of the countries he visited—it is not the author who is to

blame. The conduct of Captain Porter has been exhibited to the world, as having no justification whatever, either in the exigencies of his own situation, or the example of preceding navigators. Justice to himself, regard to the interests of that service to which he considers it his highest honour to belong, demand that the author should test the claims of those who have been arrayed against him with a view to wound his own feelings, and the reputation of his country.

There is no man whose claims as a discoverer have been so extravagantly overrated as those of Captain Cook. Second only to Columbus, the discoverer of a world, he stands in the boastful and deceptive annals of his country, an example of science, skill, enterprise, patience, perseverance, justice, and humanity; and were the great majority of Americans or English to be asked, who it was that outstripped all others except Columbus, in the extent and variety of his discoveries, they would answer, without hesitation, captain James Cook. This widely extended delusion is one among the many proofs of the facility with which unblushing arrogance, and unbounded pretension can impose upon the credulity of the mass of mankind. Nothing is more certain, and the fact shall be demonstrated by authorities so various as not to admit of a doubt, than that if we allow to the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the Russians, what really belongs to them, there will remain nothing to captain Cook, but the merit of having sought and found those Islands and countries claimed by himself and his admirers as his own discoveries, by merely following the track, and pursuing the directions of preceding navigators. Quiros, Mendana, Schouten, Tasman, Le Maire, Bougainville, Bhering, and others, preceded him every where in his course, and removed all doubts and



obstacles, by informing him what was to be found, as well as where to find it. The Sandwich Islands, which he took the liberty of naming, were found traced on a chart, which Anson discovered, on board the Manilla ship captured by him, thirty-seven years before they were visited by Cook, who nowhere mentions this fact. All places, indeed, seem to have been new to him; he gave them English names, even when they had been named by the real discoverers, and paid no attention to that courtesy of nations, which gives to those to whom they justly belong, the honours of all discoveries or improvements in science. To the Los Monjes of the Spanish chart, found by Anson on board the Manilla ship, Cook gave the name of Sandwich Islands, by which they are laid down in all the British charts, as *discovered* by him, without the least reference to the claim of the Spaniards.

To the Sagittaria of Quiros, he gave also the name of Otaheite; to the Archipelago of Bourbon, of Bougainville, he gave the name of the Society Islands; and to the Navigators' Islands of the same voyager, he gave the name of Friendly Islands. It will be recollected, that these are the most important discoveries of captain Cook, and that they make a principal figure in the histories of his voyages. The Sandwich Islands especially, have been placed among the most incontestable of his trophies. It may therefore be worth while to be a little more circumstantial on this point.

In the Galleon, captured by Commodore Anson, was found a chart, which was carried to England by him, and has been published since. Of this a description is given in Marchand's voyage, page 17, &c. The conclusions drawn from it, by M. Fleureau, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, are too long for insertion here: but the facts on

which they are founded, incontestably prove their justice. It will appear from them, that the Islands called in that chart *Los Monjes*, and placed in exact parallel with the Sandwich Islands, are the Sandwich Islands so named by Captain Cook by a pretended right of discovery, and can be no other. That he was ignorant of the existence of this chart, it is impossible to believe; nor is it easy to avoid the conclusion, that the truth was wilfully and designedly withheld from the world, with the express design of decking himself and his country with honours filched from another nation. Captain Cook assumed the same privilege of appropriating to himself what was the right of others, in New Holland, New Zealand, the New Hebrides, (the Cyclades of M. Bougainville) and various other places, which the limits of this article will not permit the author to specify. The reader is referred to Kippis' *Life of Cook*, pp. 88, 97, 258, 281, 289, 345, 354, 409, 416, &c.

It is worthy of remark, that Dr. Kippis, probably in behalf of his hero, affects ignorance of this chart of the *Los Monjes*, or Sandwich Islands. "Happy," says he, "would it have been for Lord Anson, if he had known that there existed a group of Islands half-way between America and Tinian, where all his wants would have been effectually supplied, and the different hardships to which he was exposed, have been avoided."

It is presumed enough has been adduced to explain to the reader on what foundation stands the claim of Captain Cook, to the high reputation conferred on him by the Reviewer, for "honour and generosity." The author can conceive little of either, in these attempts to rob the bold and original navigators that preceded him, and who neglected to secure it to themselves, of the honour of those

discoveries which the world seems almost to have forgotten, but of which there still remain sufficient proofs. This celebrated navigator appears indeed to have traversed the ocean, appropriating to himself almost every thing that fell in his way ; naming the discoveries of others, as suited his interest or his caprice ; taking formal possession of countries, not only claimed by other European powers, but inhabited by numerous nations, among whom he hardly ventured to trust his people, and decking himself with the spoils of ages. That Cook was a bold and skilful seaman, no one will deny : but he who seeks in his history for higher claims to distinction, will seek in vain, provided he divests himself of a subserviency to early impressions, derived from books calculated and intended to deceive.\*

The author has been bitterly stigmatized by the Reviewer, for the voluptuous descriptions given by him of the beauty of the women of Madison's Island ; the free intercourse permitted between them and his sailors ; and, above all, with wanton cruelty towards the inhabitants of the Ty-pee valley. These charges have been made by a British Reviewer ; and the author, in order at least to palliate, if not justify, his language and conduct, will resort to the example of those very navigators, who have been held up by him, as objects of respect and veneration throughout the civilized world. The following is the passage in the Review relating to the women of the Island :

“ On their arrival off Rooahooga island, the Riou of the the English, and Jefferson of Captain Porter, a few natives, who came off in a canoe, invited them to the shore, assuring them, ‘ by the most expressive gesticulations, that the *va-*

\* See Dalrymple on the Spanish Discoveries before 1595, p. 40, &c.



*hienas*, or women, were entirely at their service.' Captain Porter's promises to his ship's company were here amply fulfilled. There were no scruples on his part ; none of course, on the part of the crew ; he sees no harm in giving countenance to the moral depravity of ignorant savages—but we must here pause, and draw a veil over his proceedings. We cannot pollute our pages with the description which Porter gives of his transactions with these people. His language and his ideas are so gross and indelicate, so utterly unfit for this hemisphere, that we must leave the undivided enjoyment of this part of his book to his own countrymen. We are at a loss to determine which is most disgusting and offensive—his nauseous ribaldry, or his impudent avowal of his improper conduct. 'If,' says he, 'there was any crime, the offence was ours, not theirs ; they acted in compliance with the customs of their ancestors ; we departed from those principles of virtue and morality, which are so highly esteemed in civilization.' It was enough, he thinks, that 'each confined himself to one object, and she of the best family and rank ;' which, he says, 'was as much as the most zealous *celebiate*' could require—but more than enough of this profligate, this pernicious trash."

After premising that nothing in this or the former edition of the *Journal*, can possibly justify the language of this extract, the author will proceed to give a few specimens from Cook, Solander, Forster, Parkinson, and others. to show with how little justice he is accused of this extraordinary degree of moral turpitude. Man must have some standard of morality ; and when placed in new and untried situations, beyond the sphere of the ordinary restraints of society, this standard is principally to be found in the conduct of those who have been placed in similar circumstances, and left behind them a character for justice and humanity. Surely, if he does not exceed the latitude assumed by these, it is the height of prejudice and malevolence, to stigmatize him with such imputations as have been poured on the author, and the extreme of folly to illustrate his turpitude, by

contrasting him with the very men whose examples more than justify him, if example is to be the test. Particular attention will be paid to the voyages of Captain Cook, because he has been particularly arrayed against the author; and most especially, for the reason, that the editor who revised, corrected, and digested that celebrated production, was no less a personage than the famous Dr. Hawkesworth, second only to two or three names in British literature, as a pure and classical writer. It may also be remarked in this place, that all the English voyages from which the author intends to draw his examples, were laboriously and at leisure, either revised, corrected, and published, by the navigators themselves, or most generally, by professional literary men, who coolly and deliberately sat in judgment upon them, and decided with reflection. The first edition of this Journal, on the contrary, did not enjoy the benefit, either of the author's corrections, or the revision of any other person.

The author had intended to commence with some passages from the venerable and worthy captain Vancouver, an elderly gentleman, long past the heyday of youth, and beyond all doubt, well schooled in the pure morality of the English critical atmosphere. But, on reflection, he abandoned his intention, not only from respect to that harmless person, but on the ground of his not having been brought forward by the Reviewer on this occasion. He wishes not to drag forth to the notice of his countrymen, any facts but such as are connected with, and necessary to, his purpose; and will therefore principally confine himself to an investigation of the decorum and humanity of Captain Cook, as inculcated by his own example. A few exceptions will however occur.

The editor of the famous collection of English

voyages, in his relation of Wallis's circumnavigation of the globe, has the following observations :

" Another sort of traffic was now established between the Indian girls and the sailors. The price of a female's favours was a nail or two ; but as the seamen could not always get at the nails, they drew them out of several parts of the ship ; nor could the offenders be discovered by the strictest inquiry. The damage done to the vessel might have been easily repaired ; but a worse consequence arose from this traffic ; for, on the gunner's offering small nails for hogs, the Indians produced large spikes, demanding such as those. Some of the men made use of a particular device to gratify their passions ; for when they could procure no more nails, they cut lead into the shape of them, and passed those pieces upon their unsuspecting paramours."\*

" The women, as we have before observed, do not consider chastity as a virtue ; for they not only readily and openly trafficked with our people for personal favours, but were brought down by their fathers and brothers, for purposes of prostitution. They were, however, conscious of the value of beauty ; and the size of the nail that was demanded for the enjoyment of the lady, was always in proportion to her charms."†

Forster, in his relation of Cook's voyage, states the following facts :

" The number of common women on board the ship was considerably increased since we had begun to deal in red feathers ; and this night in particular, many strolled about the decks, who could not meet with partners. The goodness of their appetite and digestion exposed them, however, to the inconvenience of restlessness, and often disturbed

\* Collection of Voyages Round the World, p. 991. vol. 3.

† Ibid. p. 1000.



those who wished to rest after the fatigues of the day. On *certain urgent occasions* they always required the attendance of their lovers; but as they were frequently refused, the decks were made to resemble the paths of the islands." "We had a very weak scorbutic patient, when we arrived at Taheitee: this man being somewhat recovered, by means of fresh vegetable food, and animated by the example of the crew, wooed a Taheitean girl; about dusk led her to his birth, and lighted a candle. She looked her lover in the face, and finding he had lost an eye, she took him by the hand, and conducted him upon deck again, to a girl that was one-eyed likewise; giving him to understand, that this person was a fit partner for him."\*

Speaking of the custom among a certain class called Arreoyoys, of destroying their children, Forster has the following curious note, which furnishes an apt illustration of the pure morality of a city peculiarly favoured with the guardianship of that stern moralist, the Quarterly Reviewer. It is in a note appended to a laboured extenuation of the practice so almost universal among the inhabitants of the South Seas, of prostituting their women.

"Depravity," he observes, "is much more at home in our polished climate, and I must here mention an instance, which stains Society with indelible dishonour.—In the metropolis of England, there are wretches who publicly declare their skill, and offer their services to procure abortion. (See advertisement to that effect, in a public paper, No. 1322, for Wednesday, January 15th, 1777.) They are suffered, *with impunity*, to make a trade of destroying human beings in the womb."

Again: "The simplicity of a dress which ex-

posed to view a well-proportioned bosom, and delicate arms, might also contribute to fan their amorous fire ; and the view of several of these nymphs swimming nimbly round the ship, *such as nature had formed them*, was perhaps more than sufficient to subvert the little reason which a mariner might have left to govern his passions.”\*

Captain Wilson, another English voyager, who went out on a *Missionary* voyage, to the South Sea, in the ship *Duff*, in speaking of the practice of the females, of using leaves for coverings, archly observes, “The knavish goats were guilty of a very great offence with regard to the poor young maidens, for they would not leave them even the little clothing they had : they flocked round them to get at the green leaves, till most of them were left entirely in their native beauty.”†

Similar passages to those just given, abound in all the English voyages to this portion of the globe, without exception. Quotations that would fill a volume, might be made, from Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and a hundred others. But it is now time to turn to Cook’s voyages, to which particular attention ought to be paid, for reasons before mentioned. The author will content himself with one or two extracts, referring to others, equally worthy of note, though his limits will only permit of the following :

“Among these Indians we saw many women whose lips were of a blackish hue, and their cheeks were painted with a lively red. They had large knees, and slender, bandy legs, owing to a want of exercise, and sitting in their canoes cross-legged. The ladies were very agreeable to our crews, who had no opportunity of indulging an intercourse with

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 135, and vol. 1. 54, 55, &c. Ibid. p. 265. See also vol. 1. p. 260, 57, &c.

† Wilson, as quoted by Langsdorff, p. 94.

any other women since we left England ; and they soon found out that chastity was not a distinguishing part of their character. Their consent was easily purchased—a spike nail, or an old shirt, was a sufficient bribe. The lady was then left to make her man happy, and to exact from him another present for herself. We must observe, to the credit of some of these women, and the discredit of the men, that several of the former submitted to prostitution with much *seeming* reluctance ; and they were sometimes even *terrified* into a compliance, by the authority, and even menaces of the men.”\*

“ Though all public trade,” says the classical and philosophical moralist, who compiled the work from which we quote, “ was prohibited, as usual, till the ships should be furnished with fresh provisions, it was not easy to restrain the men on shore from trading with the women, who were continually enticing them to desert. The *ladies* of pleasure in London, have not half the winning ways that are practised by the Otaheitean misses, to allure their gallants. With the seeming innocence of the doves, they mingle the wiliness of the serpents.” “ During our stay in the Island, we had hardly a sailor who had not made a very near connexion with one or other of the female inhabitants ; nor, indeed, many officers who were proof against the allurements of the better sort—who were no less amorous and artful, though more reserved than those of the inferior orders. The temperature of the climate, the plenty of fresh provisions, fish, fowl, pork, bread-fruit, yams, added to the delicious fruits of the island, contributed not a little to make our stay here desirable ; nor did idleness get possession of those who were most indolently inclined. We had not a vacant hour between business and *pleasure*, that was unem-

\* Cook's Second Voyage, Collection of Voyages, vol. 2. p. 472.



ployed. We wanted no coffee-houses to kill time ; nor no Vauxhalls for our evening entertainments. *Every nightly assembly in the plantations of this happy Isle, is furnished by beneficent Nature, with a more luxurious feast than all the dainties of the most sumptuous champetre, though lavished with unlimited profusion, and emblazoned with the most expensive decorations," &c.* "But, amidst so many delights, it was not for human nature to subsist long without satiety. Our officers began to be punctilious, and our seamen to be licentious. Several of the latter were punished severely for indecency in surpassing even the natives, by their shameless manner of indulging their passions ; and two of the latter went on shore, to terminate an affair of honour by the decision of their pistols,"\* &c.

After referring the reader to pages 1301, 1469, 1513, 1618, 1925,† and fifty others, if it were necessary, for similar passages, to prove, that wherever Cook went, there was a free intercourse, of the most licentious kind, kept up between the sailors and officers on one hand, and the native women on the other ; which intercourse is described in the most free, not to say gross, manner, the author will pass from this subject, with a few remarks.—The first thing to be noticed is, the uniform mode in which all these navigators have described the intercourse alluded to ; the open and free, not to say licentious, terms they have used ; and the omission, on almost all occasions, to make any apology, either for themselves or the natives. The author does not state this so much with a view to his own justification, as to point out the folly of the Reviewer in provoking an investigation so little

\* See Journal of Cook's Voyage, vol. 4. p. 1527, 28 and 29 in the Collection.

† See also pp. 496, 595, 1285, 1297, 1490, 1555, 1558, 1707, 1944, &c. of Collection.

honourable to his country, if he was aware of the existence of these facts ; his ignorance if he was unacquainted with them ; and his consummate assurance, in the latter case, in attempting to review a book, with the subject of which he was utterly unacquainted. Indeed, he seems, in reality, never to have read any voyages but those of " honest Dampier," as he calls the old bucanier, and to be entirely ignorant of both Anson and Cook, except by name. Captain Porter defies the critic to produce any passage from the first or the present edition of this Journal, conveying a picture of voluptuous sensuality, and indiscriminate, vulgar licentiousness, equal to that portrayed in the extracts quoted in the preceding pages. At the same time, having given to the first edition a careful perusal, he has thought proper to comply with the dictates of his sober judgment, in omitting a few passages that might possibly admit of some objections, and which he can only apologize for, on the ground of having been led astray by the example of so many British navigators. The Reviewer is welcome to the credit of having wrought thus far upon his hardened conscience.

Captain Porter is next accused of having practised wanton and unnecessary cruelties upon the natives of Nooaheevah. " It is impossible," says the Reviewer, " to read, without the strongest feeling of indignation, the feats of destruction committed by this execrable marauder, on the property of these innocent people. He tells us that he and his bloodhounds halted on the ridge, to take breath, and to view, for a few minutes, a most delightful valley, that was soon to become a scene of desolation." He accuses him of having, without either the plea of self-defence, or the excuse of provocation of any kind, violated the hospitality of a people who had

received him in the most friendly manner; and concludes by holding up Captain Cook in triumphant contrast with the American navigator.

Be it so.—If Captain Cook is thus considered by the world as a person of such “*high honour and humanity*”—if “*he is born for all countries and ages*”—if “*he will be held in grateful admiration long after his ridiculous rival is forgotten*”—if “*it is not possible to read his voyage without an expansion and elevation of mind !*”—if “*the best feelings of our nature are interested in his adventures*”—and, if “*we accompany him through a captivating alternation of suffering and success, with pity, respect, and triumph ;*”—all which the Reviewer affirms to be the case—so be it. The author must of course submit to such high authority. But as a matter of curious philosophical speculation, it may be worth while to recite some of the most brilliant specimens of Cook’s “*high honour and generosity,*” and compare them with those of this “*execrable marauder,*” Captain Porter, and his “*blood-hounds.*” After this, the reader may exercise his ingenuity in inquiry, how it happens that English honour and humanity are compatible with actions, that in an American, become those of an “*execrable marauder.*”

We will begin with the relation of Cook’s Voyage round the World in the Resolution, by George Forster, F. R. S., &c. who accompanied that expedition, in order to prove, in the first place, that on many occasions, where they were received with the most perfect friendship, and treated with endearing confidence and hospitality, the most wanton outrages were practised upon the natives. On one occasion, Mr. Forster observes :—

“They shared the abundant produce of their soil with their new acquaintance, being no longer ap-



prehensive that they would take it by force. They permitted us to visit them in their shady recesses, and we sat down in their domestic circles with that harmony which befits the members of one great family. In a few days they began to feel a pleasure in our conversation; and a new, disinterested sentiment, of more than earthly mould—even *friendship*, filled their hearts.”\* While indulging in reflections arising from this pleasing state of affairs, and communicating his feelings to Dr. Sparman, “we beheld,” says he, “two natives seated on the grass, holding one of their brethren dead in their arms. They pointed to a wound in his side, which had been made by a musket ball, and with a most affecting look, they told us, “he is killed.”† The story of this poor victim to Captain Cook’s “honour and generosity,” was as follows: “A sentinel,” continues Mr. Forster, “had been posted, as usual, to keep the natives at a distance from our party; but the sailors took the liberty of walking and trading freely among them. A native who, in all likelihood, had never been on the beach before, came through the crowd, and began to walk across the space which our people occupied. The sentry pushed him back among the rest of his brethren, who were already accustomed to this injurious treatment, and acquiesced in it. The newcomer, however, refused to be controlled on his own island, by a stranger; he prepared once more to cross the area, perhaps with no other motive at present, than that of asserting his liberty of walking where he pleased. The sentry drove him back once more, with a rude thrust, sufficient to rouse a man much less irascible than a savage. He, to vindicate his right, laid an arrow on his bow, which he aimed at the aggressor; but the soldier instantly

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 350.

† Ibid. vol. 2. p. 351.

levelled his musket, and shot him dead.”\* At this moment Captain Cook returned ; but it having been found that the sentry had his orders “to punish the least threat from a native with immediate death,” “the soldier was therefore,” continues Mr. Forster, “immediately cleared, and the right to dispose of the lives of the natives at pleasure, remained uncontroverted.”†

On another occasion, Mr. Forster relates the following fact. It seems one of the natives, finding an iron stanchion loose, seized it, and was making off in his canoe. “At this moment an officer came upon deck, snatched up a musket ; and, taking exact aim, shot the man through the head.” “The Captain (Cook) in his boat came up, and saw the canoe full of blood, and the dead corse lying in it. The other native baled the blood out into the sea, and then retired to the shore, with all the other canoes, and left us perfectly alone.” “We cannot but lament,” continues Mr. Forster, “that the time in which this man was killed, *by a person, who was ignorant of his offence*, did not admit of any previous consideration. The first discoverers and conquerors of America have often and very deservedly been stigmatized with cruelty, because they treated the wretched natives of that continent, not as their brethren, but as irrational beasts, whom it was lawful to shoot for diversion ; and yet, in our enlightened age, prejudice and rashness have often proved fatal to the inhabitants of the South Sea. Mahine (a native) burst into tears, when he saw one man killing another on so trifling an occasion,” &c.‡ We do not hear that this act was ever censured, much less punished, by Capt. Cook.

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 351, 2.

† Ibid. p. 253.

‡ Ibid. pp. 11, 12.

Capt. Cook, on another occasion, saw a commotion among the natives on shore ; and upon inquiring the cause, received from his second Lieutenant the following account. A party of officers had gone ashore upon a shooting expedition. " One of them," says Mr. Forster, " having shot a couple of ducks in a lagoon, desired a native, who attended him, to fetch them out of the water. The man, who had repeatedly done him this good office before, refused to be his spaniel any longer. Our officer beat him, however, till he went in, and worked himself through the mud with great agility, in a motion between swimming and walking. When he had reached the ducks, which lay a considerable distance from shore, he swam off with them to the opposite side of the lagoon, perhaps conscious that he deserved them for the trouble he had taken. As this did not agree with the seaman's intentions, he loaded his musket with ball, and fired ; but, fortunately, missed him."\* On this occasion the party was severely beaten by the natives ; upon which Capt. Cook marched into the country, received their submission, and was pacified with a number of presents ! Had they made any resistance, Mr. Forster does not make any secret, that it was the intention of Capt. Cook to take a severe vengeance. Not a word is said about any reprimand or punishment for the outrage of firing upon the native.

A musket, belonging to Mr. Clerke, and an adze, are stolen. " The Captain," (Cook) observes Mr. Forster, " in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which, however, there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 123, &c



his command ; and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished natives. But this was not sufficient ; and another canoe was seized. A native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ with good effect. Capt. Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay down his arms. *He refused ; and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at a distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately brought him to the ground.*" The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off from the ship," &c.\*

" On the 19th of June, several Indians came to the place where our tents had been pitched ; but they were already struck, and our baggage carried on board, with the exception of an officer's tent and some ammunition. We were much surprised to see the Indians each taking a fire-brand, laying them on the grass, endeavouring to spread the flame every where, and put the country in a blaze. They succeeded with so much facility, and in so short a time, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could save from the flames our lines and nets, that were spread out upon the ground. *Capt. Cook, roused to indignation, wounded several, while they were engaged, out of mere malice, in executing their design.* A few hours afterwards, they returned around us ; but were quiet and peaceable."†

A native had pointed a *wooden* arrow at a sailor, who refused him admission into the ship. " The Captain," says Mr. Forster, " went on deck presently, and took up a musket, which he pointed at the native, who persisted in his attitude in spite of his fellows. Seeing that Capt. Cook had levelled at him, he also pointed his arrow at him. We

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 181, &c.

† See Banks and Solander's Journal, in French, p. 224.

heard a musket fired off the instant after ; and, repairing on deck, saw the native, who had received some small shot, very deliberately laying by his arrow, which was only pointed with wood, and selecting one of those believed to be poisoned. As soon as he had taken aim, the third Lieutenant fired at him again : The small-shot, which he received in his face, obliged him to give up all thoughts of fighting ; and he paddled quickly towards the shore,"\* &c.

" We had not been long on board," says Mr. Forster, on another occasion, " before we heard a musket fired, and saw the natives disturbed. However they were soon pacified, and returned to their former station. All our people came off about three o'clock, in order to dine on board. We then heard that one of the inhabitants had offended the officer, by making the same unmannerly gesture, with which he had been challenged the day before. Upon this, he was shot in the thigh, and got off into the woods."† No reprimand or punishment for this wanton barbarity !

" The harmless disposition of these good people," says Mr. Forster, on another occasion, " could not secure them against those misfortunes which are too often attendant upon all voyages of discovery. Our goods tempted them as much as they had tempted the Tabeiteans ; and they were, consequently, equally disposed to pilfer. The Captains had not been long ashore the next day, when one of the natives took an opportunity of stealing a jacket out of the boat. In a few minutes no less than seven muskets were fired without the Captain's orders, *though in his presence*, at the thief, who first dived into the water, and at last ran into the crowd, by

\* Forster, vol. 2. p. 210, &c.

† Ibid. p. 283.

which means several innocent persons were wounded. *Notwithstanding this severity, the good nature of the people was such that they did not forsake the trading-place, or take umbrage at our proceedings, but heard with unconcern the balls whistling above their heads.* A few hours afterwards, one of them was equally nimble on board our ship; and, luckily, slipping into the master's cabin, stole from thence several mathematical books, a sword, a ruler, and a number of trifles, of which he could never make the least use. He was seen making his escape in a canoe; and a boat being despatched after him, he threw all the stolen effects overboard. These were picked up by another of the boats, whilst the first continued in pursuit of the thief. Our men fired a musket into the stern of his canoe; upon which he, and some others with him, jumped into the sea. The thief was still hunted with incredible eagerness, but displayed a most wonderful agility; diving several times under the boat, and once unshipping the rudder. At last one of our people darted the boat-hook at him; and, catching him under the ribs, dragged him into the boat. It is remarkable, that even such a disposition to cruelty, as has been displayed in the pursuit of this poor wretch, did not deprive us of the confidence and affection of his countrymen.\* No punishment inflicted for shooting men without Capt. Cook's orders, and in his own presence. No disapprobation expressed by him at this inhuman hunting match!

The foregoing are a few, and but a few specimens of the "high honour and generosity," so triumphantly insisted on by the Reviewer. But the author forbears to trouble his readers with any more from this particular author, who, notwithstanding he on various occasions regrets the cruelties autho-

\* Forster, vol. 1. p. 464, &c.



rized, overlooked, or actually committed by Capt. Cook, has still the hardihood to make the following reflection in his preface. "I cannot help thinking," he says, "that our late voyage would reflect immortal honour on our employers, if it had no other merit than stocking Taheitee with goats, the Friendly Isles and New Hebrides with dogs, and New Zealand and New Caledonia with hogs." Mr. Forster was induced to make this remark, in consequence of the "*just complaints, which, he says, were made by all Europe, of the almost total want of scientific information in the relations of Cook's various voyages.*"

Mr. Sydney Parkinson accompanied Capt. Cook in another voyage to the South Seas, in the ship Endeavour, as draughtsman to Sir Joseph Banks. The author will beg permission to extract one or two examples of Capt. Cook's humanity and high sense of honour, from the Journal compiled from different authorities to accompany the plates, engraved from Mr. Parkinson's drawings. The first occurred at Otaheite.

"In one of the canoes," says Mr. Parkinson, "that came trading alongside the ship, was a very handsome young man, of whom I bought some things. He seemed, by the variety of his garments, which he sold one after the other till he had but one left, to be a person of distinction among them. His last garment was an upper one, made of black and white dog skin, which one of the lieutenants would have purchased; and offered him a large piece of cloth for it, which he swung down the stern by a rope into the canoe. But as soon as the young man had taken it, his companions paddled away as fast as possible, shouting and brandishing their weapons, as if they had made a great prize; and, being ignorant of the power of our weapons,

thought to have carried it off securely: But a musket was fired at them from the stern of the ship; the young man fell down immediately, and it is probable was mortally wounded, as we did not see him rise again! *What a severe punishment of a crime, committed perhaps ignorantly!*"\* Neither reprimand nor punishment is mentioned by the author for this cruel outrage.

On another occasion, Mr. Parkinson states as follows: "Many canoes came off to us, and the people in them, according to custom, behaved rather unruly. While I saluted one of them, he picked my pocket. Some of our people fired upon them; but they did not seem to mind it much. One of our boats went on shore; and then they set off all at once, and attempted to seize her, in which they failed, however. But soon after Mr. Banks had like to have been apprehended by one of the natives, but happily escaped. The marines fired upon them; five great guns were fired from the ship; and Otegoowgoow, son to one of their chiefs, was wounded in the thigh. The natives affrighted fled precipitately."†

In relating the incidents which led to the death of Capt. Cook, at Owhyhee, Mr. Parkinson states the following fact, which one would suppose not altogether compatible with either "a high sense of honour," or any extraordinary degree of "generosity." "It was agreed," he says, "by Capt. Cook and Capt. Clerke, that the King should be secured; a method which, on several occasions, had tended to the recovery of stolen goods. *The only way to do this was to invite him on board.*" Accordingly Capt. Cook and Lieutenant Phillips went with a party for this purpose. Not finding

\* Parkinson's Voyage, p. 104.

† Ibid. p. 109.



the King at his house, "they walked," continues Mr. Parkinson, "to a house, where they were informed by a native he was; and, having invited him to go on board, he readily consented. Some of the women, and others of his attendants, however, who probably were apprehensive of some design, earnestly begging and entreating that he would not go, he hesitated for a moment. At this important crisis three Indians arrived, in a canoe, from the other side of the bay, with an account of one of their principal Earees being shot by the people in the boats."\* Every body knows the result. The natives became enraged; and Capt. Cook, persisting in his design of getting the King on board, perished, in an undertaking as contemptible as it was unjustifiable.

The author will now proceed to make a few more extracts from the voyages of Capt. Cook, as they are collected and arranged "from authentic journals of several principal officers, and other gentlemen of the most distinguished naval and philosophical abilities, who sailed in the various ships," as is stated in the multifarious titlepage, to which the reader is referred for farther particulars.

"At the time our people were getting some large logs into the boat, the sentry presented his piece at one of the natives; and, without the least apparent cause, fired at, and killed him. The fellow of a sentry pretended that the man had laid his arrow across his bow, so that he apprehended himself in danger. But this had been frequently done out of a bravado, to show they were armed equally with ourselves. Capt. Cook was highly exasperated at this rascal's rash conduct; and most of the people fled with precipitation. As they ran off, we ob-

\* Parkinson, 334, &c.



served one man to fall ; and the Captain went with the surgeon, who was sent for to the man, whom they found expiring. His left arm was shattered ; and from hence the ball had entered his body by the short ribs, one of which was broken. What rendered this incident the more affecting was, that the man who bent the bow was not shot, but one who stood by him. The natives were thrown into such consternation, that they brought abundance of fruit, which they laid down at his feet.”\* No punishment stated for this outrage upon humanity.

“ While the boat’s crew of the *Adventure* were at dinner on shore, some of the natives stole or snatched from them some fish and bread, for which offence they received some blows. A quarrel ensued immediately ; and two of the New Zealanders were shot dead,” &c. “ It appears (observes the historian or compiler, on this occasion,) that there was no premeditated plan of bloodshed ; and that, if these thefts had not been *rather too hastily* resented, all mischief would have been avoided.”†

“ During our stay here, (says the journal of “ an officer,”) more capital thefts were committed, and more Indians punished, than in all the Friendly Isles besides. One was punished with 72 lashes for stealing only a knife ; another with 36 for endeavouring to carry off two or three drinking-glasses ; three were punished, with three dozen each, for heaving stones at the wooders ; but, what was still more cruel, a man, for attempting to carry off an axe, was ordered to have his arm cut to the bone, *which he bore without complaining*. It is not to be wondered at, that, after such wanton acts of cruelty, the inhabitants should grow outrageous.”‡ An attempt is made by the compiler of the voyage

\* Collection of Voyages, vol. 2. p. 619.  
 † Ibid. p. 1304, 5. vol. 4.

† Cook’s Third Voyage, Col-  
 ‡ Ibid. 1432.

to question the truth of the foregoing, solely on the ground of "the well-known humanity of the generous Commander." What that humanity was, the reader will, it is presumed, pretty well comprehend by this time, and receive the excuse with the contempt it merits.

As a case in point, the author will extract from the text of this same compiler, who affects to doubt the foregoing, on the score of Capt. Cook's "well-known humanity," the following account of the punishment inflicted on a native for stealing a sextant. "As the thief," says the compiler, "appeared to be a shameless villain, the Commodore (Cook) punished him with greater severity than he had ever done any former culprit; for, besides having his head and beard shaved, he ordered both his ears to be cut off, and his eyebrows to be flead." "The natives," he continues, "looked with horror upon the man; and it was easy to perceive that this act gave them general disgust."\*

"The next morning one of the natives, who had attempted to steal a water-cask from our tents, was apprehended and confined. Otoo and Towhah, coming on board somewhat early, accompanied Capt. Cook ashore to see him punished. He was tied to a pole; and, with their consent, received two dozen of *very severe lashes*."†

Capt. Cook, on one occasion, had formed a design of "surprising" some of the natives of New Zealand, with a view of gaining their confidence, and thus opening an intercourse with the people on shore. A boat appeared; and, being within hail, "Tupia called upon them to come alongside, with assurances that they should not, in any degree, be hurt or injured. They trusted, however, more to

\* Cook's Third Voyage, Collection, vol. 5. p. 1596.

† Forster, vol. 2. p. 78.

their paddles than to Tupia's promises, and continued to flee from our navigators with all their power. Mr. Cook, as the least exceptionable expedient of accomplishing his design, ordered a musket to be fired over their heads. This, he hoped, would either make them surrender, or leap into the water; but it produced a contrary effect. The Indians, who were seven in number, immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight. When, therefore, the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones, and other offensive weapons; and they carried it on with so much vigour and violence, *that the English thought themselves obliged to fire upon them in their own defence. The consequence of which was, that four were unhappily killed.*"\*

Not to weary the patience, or outrage the feelings of the reader with a thousand other instances of this kind, which the author has collected from the relations of British voyages, he will now take leave of this part of the subject, by quoting, at length, a case of a more general character; and, it would seem, amply sufficient to silence all doubts, if any yet remained, with regard to that "high honour and generosity," for which Captain Cook is so celebrated by the Reviewer.

"On the second of October, Maheine, accompanied by other chiefs, came on board the *Discovery*, with large hogs, by way of presents; and were presented, in return, with axes, hatchets, looking-glasses, &c. Our purveyors were also much gratified with the success they met with in marketing; purchasing the largest hogs for the merest trifles; as, for instance, a hog of 200 weight, for 12 red feathers, and so in proportion. But this friendly inter-

\* Kippis's *Life of Cook*, p. 60.



course was soon changed to a scene of desolation, which no injuries we received from the pilfering disposition of the natives could justify. The people brought us every thing the Island afforded, and had left it to the generosity of the purchasers to give in return whatever they pleased. But unfortunately, a goat from our live stock was missing. It had been secretly conveyed away in the night, from the pastures in which they were placed to feed, notwithstanding the vigilance of the guard appointed to look after them. With the loss of this animal, no doubt a great prize to the thief, an Earee was made acquainted by Captain Cook, and a peremptory requisition made to have it restored, on pain of having his country laid waste, his shipping destroyed, and himself personally punished for the crime of his subject. The king promised his assistance, and required time for the inquiry; but as soon as he was set at liberty, he absconded, and was no more to be seen. The goat being still missing, and no means used for recovering and restoring it, a party from both ships, with the marines in a body, were ordered out to carry the threats of our Commander into execution. *For three days successively, they continued their devastations; burning and destroying two hundred of the best houses of the inhabitants, and as many of their large war canoes; at the same time cutting down their fruit-trees, and destroying their plantations. The natives who lived at a distance, hearing of the havoc that was made near the Bay, filled their canoes with stones, and sunk them, with a view to their preservation; but that availed them nothing; for the Captain (Cook) ordered boats to be manned and armed; the canoes to be weighed up and destroyed: in short, a general desolation to be carried through the whole Island, should the goat be withheld.* Add to this, that two young natives of

quality, being found on board our ship, were made prisoners, and threatened with death, if the goat should not be restored within a certain time.

“ The youths protested their own innocence, and disclaimed all knowledge of the guilty persons, notwithstanding which, every preparation was apparently made for putting them to death. Large ropes were carried upon the main deck, and made fast fore and aft ; axes and chains, &c. were placed upon the quarter deck, in sight of the young men, whose terrors were increased by the information of Omai, who gave them to understand, that, by all these preparations, their doom was finally determined. Under these gloomy apprehensions, the poor youths remained till the 9th, when, about three in the afternoon, a body of between fifty and sixty natives were seen from the ship, hastening to the harbour, who, when they came near, held up the goat in their arms, in raptures that they had found it, and that it was still alive. The joy of the imprisoned young men is not to be expressed ; and when they were released, instead of showing any signs of resentment, they were ready to fall down and worship their deliverers. It can scarcely be credited, when the devastation ceased, how soon the injury was forgotten, and provisions again brought to market, as if no violence had ever been committed by us. Only the Earee of the Island never made his appearance.”\*

After premising that he has quoted but a small part of the cruelties practised by Cook and other English navigators, the author will leave the Reviewer in possession of his triumph, merely adding a few observations.—Captain Cook fell in a struggle with the natives of Owyhee, in which he himself, as is ac-

\* See Journal of an Officer, quoted in vol. v. of the Collection.

known on all hands, was the aggressor : nor is it to be forgotten, that his avowed object in going on shore on that occasion, was that of getting possession of the person of the king, by treachery. His tragical death, however, has thrown a veil over the great fault of his character, severity ; and the world has been willing to forget, that he merited his fate. It has been repeated over and over again, that his memory is cherished with the highest reverence and affection, by the natives of the Islands in the South Sea. If so, it is only another proof of that mild and forgiving disposition evinced in the paragraph last quoted, and furnishes an example which Christian white men would do well to imitate, although coming from pagan Indians. It is only, however, the English, who speak of this affectionate recollection cherished by these people, for the memory of Cook. Labillardiere, and other navigators, speak differently.

In one place he says—"Many of the natives, and particularly the Royal family, pronounced the name of Cook with enthusiasm ; but the great severity of this celebrated navigator, had prevented many others from preserving such agreeable recollections of him. They only spoke to us in complaints of the severity of the treatment they received. In fact, although he only mentions in his last voyage, one man wounded by Cook in the thigh, with a musket, we saw another, whose shoulder had been pierced with a ball, which he assured us was fired from the same hand, at Tongataboo."\*

The author has no ambition to challenge a comparison with Captain Cook, in any respect ; and least of all, on the score of "high honour and generosity." But it is proper to remark, in justice to

\* Labillardiere, vol. ii. p. 176.



himself, that in almost every instance, it will be found, that the severities of Captain Cook originated on the most trifling offences, and were prosecuted for the most insignificant purposes. The loss of a sextant is punished by cutting off a man's ears, and fleaing his eyebrows; the theft of a boat-hook is punished with death on the spot; and the loss of a single goat revenged by the burning of two hundred houses; the destruction of fruit-trees, the desolation of plantations, and the conflagration of war canoes. That no blood was shed on this latter occasion, was because the wretched natives offered no resistance. If they had, there is no room to doubt, that the destruction of lives would have equalled that of property. Captain Cook nowhere attempted or affected a permanent settlement; his objects were all temporary; and his whole conduct to the natives, grounded upon the most light and trivial basis. In the most important of all these cases, the recovery of the goat, nothing can exceed the excessive disproportion of the offence committed, the object to be gained, and the means resorted to for that purpose. The goats were carried out by Captain Cook, with the express purpose of being left upon some one of these Islands; and, if it be objected, that a single goat would have been of no use to these people, he had only to bestow upon them a mate, and the object would have been attained.

But the objects contemplated by Captain Porter in his visit to Nooaheevah, were national, and highly important. They were not limited to a mere survey of the Island; to wooding, watering, and repairing. The safety of his ship, of his prizes, of his men, depended upon his maintaining his situation there; and it was indispensable to all these objects, that the natives should either be conciliated or

overawed. He tried the former, and failed. The Typees, whom he is accused of having treated with wanton and unnecessary cruelty, were the enemies of his friends ; and all those who have ever had any intercourse with savages, know, that with them there is no neutrality. We must be either for or against them. The hostile natives had taunted his friends with cowardice, in submitting to be on good terms with them ; and by these means were alienating their affections, and undermining their good will towards the Americans. They had carried their hostilities against the friendly tribes within reach of the musketry ; and daily became more bold, turbulent, and threatening. The safety of his people, and the interests confided to his care, depended upon the measures pursued on this occasion ; and it may safely be asserted, that those adopted by Captain Porter, in the end, saved not only the blood of his own people, but that of the natives. Instead of being perpetually resorting to the most severe and disproportionate punishments for the slightest offences, as was the case with Cook, the succeeding intercourse with all the natives was of the most peaceable character. Not a single punishment was inflicted upon them from that time to the period of Captain Porter's departure ; and he defies the most bitter of his revilers, to mention any navigator, in similar circumstances with himself, who attained to similar objects, at the price of so little blood. The fate of Langle, La Perouse, Hergest, Magelhaens—nay of Cook himself, may be traced to the want of similar precautions to those adopted by Captain Porter. He made it the interest of those around him to watch over his people : they warned him of danger, and aided in accomplishing a mutual security. Where is there an instance of rigour towards a friendly Islander ? Where was blood shed, except in

open hostility towards men armed and prepared, and who had refused to be at peace with himself and his friends? The number of natives wantonly shot, at various times, either by Captain Cook himself, or his officers and men, upon the most frivolous occasions, is ten times greater than all those who fell in the Typee war; and the frequent recurrence of these cruelties, either proves the necessity of severity, or the barbarity of that navigator.

The disasters which befell the party left at Nooa-heevah, under lieut. Gamble, as will appear in the continuation of this Journal, for want of power to enforce the system adopted by Captain Porter, prove the propriety and necessity of the course he pursued. When his return was no longer looked for, the massacre of his people, the destruction of one ship, and the narrow escape of the other, was the consequence of the absence of that salutary fear, which alone is to be calculated upon in an intercourse with savages. Those who live in safety by their firesides, under the protection of the laws, and within the safeguard of social and civil life, are little qualified to sit in judgment upon the actions of men who are placed in situations where their safety is perpetually jeopardized, and their minds tasked for the necessary measures of self-defence. If it is important to the permanent interests of mankind, that civilization should extend over the whole world; that barbarism should give place to the lights of philosophy, and the arts of refinement; if it is just, as it has been practised in all ages, for the white man voluntarily to go where this danger occurs; it seems hardly just, that Captain Porter should be singled out to be stigmatized as a monster, because he adopted the measures necessary to his security. All that have ever been placed in similar situations, have taken upon themselves to judge of the means



of safety : and he will not shrink from any impartial, unprejudiced award, that may be pronounced upon his actions. But he does not choose to be the silent sacrifice of a literary bravo, whose ignorance is equal to his arrogance, and whose wilful perversions of the truth exceed either or both. He is willing to take his chance with others, but not to be selected as a scapegoat, or a victim.

Another charge, of a nature similar to the foregoing, is made by the Reviewer, on the ground of Captain Porter having treated his prisoners with undue severity. To expose the falsity of this, it will be sufficient to lay before the reader the following extracts from letters now in possession of the author.

*Extract of a letter from Sir J. T. Duckworth, to Captain Porter, dated St. Johns, Newfoundland, August 5th, 1812.*

“I AM sensible of the good disposition you have evinced to alleviate the distresses of war, and would gladly have embraced your proposal for an exchange of prisoners that we have respectively made ; but I am sorry to say, that at the present moment, and under the peculiar circumstances of the case, it is not in my power to do so.”

*Second extract of a letter from Sir J. T. Duckworth, to the Secretary of the navy, dated St. Johns, Newfoundland, August 31st, 1812.*

“NEVERTHELESS, I am willing to give proof at once of my respect for the liberality with which the Captain of the Essex has acted, in more than one instance, towards the British subjects who have fallen into his hands,” &c.

*Extract of a letter from Captain James Hillyar, dated Valparaiso Bay, February 24th, 1814, to Captain Porter.*

“THE letters from your prisoners\* must be highly gratifying to your feelings; and I hope the individuals who have benefited by your humane attentions, will feel themselves bound to rescue your character from every unjust aspersion.

“I have availed myself of your permission to copy some of the papers, and have taken the names of those who have acknowledged your goodness to them. The liberal minded will always do you justice, and a much higher reward awaits the performance of every Christian duty to an afflicted fellow-creature.”†

These papers alluded to by Captain Hillyar, were acknowledgments from prisoners, to whom Captain Porter had either restored their property, or caused it to be paid for by his purser. They have been lost, and the persons themselves seem to have lost the recollection of them; since some of these are among the most flagitious of Captain Porter's accusers. It is probably unnecessary to say more on the subject. Candour will be satisfied with what is here produced; and prejudice and detraction would not be convinced, even were we to offer testimony from heaven.

The Reviewer next proceeds to denounce Captain Porter for having taken the liberty to “nickname” the group of Islands, the Washington Islands, and to make himself merry with his taking possession of Nooaheevah, in the name of his government.

“The group of Washington Islands,” says Krusenstiern, “was discovered in the year 1791, by

\* These were lost by Captain Porter, after the capture of the *Essex*.

† See the correspondence, in Chapter xviii.

Captain Ingraham, of the American merchant ship *Hope*, of Boston, in his voyage from the Mendoza Islands to the Northwest coast of America.”\* After reciting the names given to this group, by different persons, who visited them subsequently, he proceeds to observe: “It is, without doubt, a great advantage to geography, to reduce as much as possible the names upon charts, and to bring as many Islands as possible under one appellation: but should not an exception be made in favour of that of Washington, which must prove an ornament to any chart? Is it not according to the strictest justice, that the first discovery of the Americans should be preserved in the annals of naval history, by a name peculiar to themselves? And is it allowed, to strike out of the charts, the immortal name of the founder of a great State, to which one of its grateful citizens had dedicated a group of Islands, merely to unite this group with another, which had been discovered and named two hundred years before? I leave it, however, to the geographers, to admit or reject my proposition; and in the mean time, have preserved to these Islands the name of Washington, upon our charts.”†

The Reviewer mentions Krusenstiern, in the article on Captain Porter’s Journal; but it does not appear that he had read, though he reviewed, his Voyage, since he could not otherwise have been ignorant, that Washington was one of the usual names of these Islands; or that a liberal and enlightened Russian had given that appellation to the group, for the excellent reason, that it was so named by the first discoverer, an American. But the Russians have so undoubted a claim to vast discoveries in navigation, that they can afford to do justice

\* Krusenstiern’s Voyage, p. 136. † Ibid. p. 138.



to other nations. The author, however, did not know that Krusenstiern had visited and named these Islands, till his Journal was published.

But did not Captain Cook not only name, but take formal possession of the discoveries of other nations?

“Having fixed the post firmly in the ground, he (Captain Cook,) hoisted upon it the Union Flag, and honoured the Inlet with the name of Queen Charlotte’s Sound. At the same time, he took formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his majesty, king George the Third.”\* This, the reader will be pleased to understand, was part of New Zealand, first discovered by Tasman, and at the moment of taking possession, inhabited by numerous nations, unconquered by his Britannic majesty, or any body else. What renders this solemnity still more whimsical, Cook knew all this perfectly well, for he states expressly, that New Zealand was first discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, in 1642. The reader is referred to Dr. Kippis, pp. 258, 251, 289, 345, 348, 354, 409, 416, for similar examples of giving “nicknames” to the discoveries of others. He is also requested, to task his ingenuity, for a philosophical reason, why the naming and taking formal possession of an Island which Captain Porter actually then held, and which was discovered by one of his countrymen, is more ridiculous than the naming and taking possession of New Zealand, discovered by a Dutchman, and still in possession of its original inhabitants, by an Englishman?

The accuracy of Capt. Porter’s account of the island of Nooaheevah, his description of the beauty of the women, the valour of the men, their houses,

\* Kippis’ Life of Cook, p. 88.

manufactures, the particulars of their religious ceremonies, is next questioned by the Reviewer. Yet it is somewhat remarkable, that his accounts are completely verified by Langsdorf and Krusenstiern,\* both of whom the Reviewer speaks of as if he were familiar with their voyage. Krusenstiern gives the women a preference over those of the other islands in point of beauty; and Langsdorf more than corroborates his opinion. "Judging," he says, "from the accounts of other navigators who have visited the Friendly and Society Islands, I am inclined to think that the people of the Marquesas and Washington Islands excel in beauty and grandeur of form, in regularity of features, and in colour, all the other South Sea Islanders."† Captain Wilson, who visited this island in 1797, having previously heard the beauty of the females much celebrated, had on board an Otaheitean woman; but, he says, "though she was tolerably handsome, and well made, she was entirely eclipsed by the finely proportioned women of Nukahiwa."‡ Many of the persons named by Krusenstiern are perfectly familiar to the author of this journal. The Englishman, Roberts, is evidently the Wilson of the author; and whatever difference occurs in the other names, originates in the interpretations into different languages. Kettenowee is Capt. Porter's Gattanewa: Man-ha-u is his Mowina; and if the similarity of names is not sufficient to establish the identity, the reader who doubts may compare the two descriptions, and he will be perfectly satisfied. The houses represented in the view, fronting page 126 of Langsdorf, agree with the author's descriptions

\* Both Langsdorf and Krusenstiern were first published in English in 1813; and the author of this Journal never saw either until after its publication. The coincidence is, therefore, that of truth, and not of plagiarism.

† Langsdorf, p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 111.

in every respect. The account given by Krusenstiern of the twelve hundred warriors of the Typee Valley corresponds also with that of this Journal; and of the valour and ferocity of the natives of the South Sea Islands when irritated, there are too many instances on record to admit of any doubt. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to extract the following account of the intrepidity and skill of the natives of one of these islands.

“I must confess,” says the relator, an officer, who accompanied Capt. Cook on his second voyage, “I have often been led to think the feats, which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears, a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into a heroic poem: I mean, when confined to the strait stays of Aristotle. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears, and those badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account,—as he has, I think, scarcely an action, circumstance, or description of any kind whatever relating to a spear, which I have not seen and recognized among these people. As the whirling motion, and whistling noise, as the spears fly; the quivering as they stick in the ground; the warriors meditating their aim when they are going to throw; and their shaking of them in the hand, or brandishing them as they advance to the attack, &c.”\*

The Quarterly Reviewer would, beyond doubt, forfeit his pay and rations, if in every article of his journal he did not take special care to maintain the honour of old England, by charging all Frenchmen and Americans with impiety, and a want of that Christian charity and benevolence, for which this

\* Cook's Second Voyage, Collection, p. 624. See also Forster, vol. 2, p. 317.



Reviewer is distinguished above all others. Accordingly Capt. Porter is set down among the wicked, in that he occasionally talks about "nature;" in that he once went on shore to amuse himself on Sunday; and in that he meddled with a Morai at Nooaheevah. Capt. Cook, however, being, as the Reviewer affirms, an example of high honour, generosity, humanity, and religion, must again help us out of this woful predicament!

"Being much in want of fuel, Captain Cook desired Mr. King to treat with the priests for the purchase of the railing belonging to the Morai. Mr. King had doubts respecting the decency of this overture, and apprehended the proposal might be deemed impious: but in this he was much mistaken; for, on application being made for the same, they expressed no kind of surprise, and the wood was delivered without the least stipulation."\* The author has not taken the trouble to collect the numerous breaches of the Sabbath, in working, wooing, whipping, and killing the natives; nor the various instances of impiety in mentioning the word "nature," to be found in Cook's voyages. That task must be left to some future American Quarterly Reviewer, who, when this country shall have reached the glorious eminence in literature, morality and piety, now occupied by England, may cloak his spleen, his venality, his hypocrisy, and his bitterness of heart, under the broad and ample robe of vituperation. The world is still the same, although the outward skin is perpetually changing. The priests who accompanied the pious conquerors, destroyed the lives of thousands of the people of South America, under the pretence of converting them to the true faith—and the Quarterly Reviewer

\* Cook's Third Voyage, Collection, p. 1949, vol. vi.

takes away, as far as in him lies, the character of millions of the natives of North America, under the pious pretext of a profound regard to the interests of religion. Cant and hypocrisy are the sword and shield of cruelty, ambition, lust, and revenge; and, as the world was probably never more corrupt than now, so, in no age of its existence, was there ever so much display of pretended piety. The author of this Journal judges no man: but if it might be permitted him to return good for evil, he would humbly suggest to the Quarterly Reviewer, to refrain in future, from disgracing his country, his religion, and his God, by thus sneakingly hiding his political antipathies, his bitter, splenetic, and outrageous party violence, behind the sacred shield of evangelical zeal. If he is really sincere in the belief that he is doing service to the cause of religion by this species of literary crusading, he is an object of singular pity; but if, as is most undoubtedly the case, his religion is nothing but politics, and his labours only those of an interested hireling, gaining his daily bread, not by the honest sweat of his brow, but by calumny and detraction, pity must give place to contempt and detestation of such rank and interested hypocrisy.

The author of this Journal must now apologize for having thus long detained the reader with his justification. It may be thought, that the labour thus bestowed was not necessary; that the aspersions of a publication so notoriously scurrilous towards all nations, and particularly the Americans; so devoid even of that appearance of candour, which is necessary to give to falsehood its most fatal poison, were unworthy of notice. The author thought so too, until he reflected, that various circumstances had given to this Review a weight and influence in this country, utterly disproportioned to its merits,

equally undeserved, and equally dangerous to the interests of religion and liberty, in the United States. He therefore felt himself called upon, not only to defend his own character, grossly, indecently, and falsely aspersed, but to arrest, as far as possible, the injury attempted to be done him, by proving the ignorance, prejudice, and malevolence of the assailant. How far he has succeeded, the public will judge; and he rests not without the hope of an honourable acquittal—at least at the hands of his countrymen. To them, and not to enemies, smarting under the recollection of repeated defeat and disgrace, he leaves the decision.

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CAPTAIN PORTER having been stigmatized, in the British prints, by British officers, and even by British diplomatic agents, as having dishonoured himself by a breach of parole; having also been declared by admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the presence of his captains, whom he had called together for the purpose, “out of the pale of honour,” and not entitled to quarter, if taken: it has been thought proper to notice this aspersion here, although not included among those of the Quarterly Review. The following letter will set the subject at rest.

*H. B. M. Ship Tonnant, off Chandelier Island*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, in reference to my letter of the 7th of September last, that the lords commissioners of the admiralty have been pleased to signify to me, that the American government had a perfect right to release Captain Porter, and the crew of the late U. S. frigate Essex, from their parole: *which, according to the determi-*



*nation of his majesty's government, was altogether null and void.*

I have the honour to be,  
&c. &c.

(Signed.)

ALEXANDER COCHRANE,  
*Vice-Admiral, &c.*

General Mason, }  
*Agent General, &c. &c.* }

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THE preceding letter was without date in the original. It was postmarked, Savannah, March 11th, 1815.—Yet, notwithstanding this unequivocal contradiction of the charge so publicly made, and officially announced to the officers of the British navy, and to the world, neither the British government, nor its agents, have ever had the justice to give it a formal denial, or to make amends for a public calumny, by publicly disavowing it. On the contrary, it is known to the author, that the diplomatic agents of England, have taken upon themselves to assure those of another country, that he still remained under the stigma of a violation of his parole. In amicable conversations with more than one captain of the British navy, he has also been assured, that no order or general notice has been issued, to their knowledge, from the British admiralty, by which they could possibly know, that Captain Porter was not still liable, if taken in arms, to be hung up as a felon. Such conduct in the British government, does not surprise the author, as it corresponds, in all its features of honour and humanity, with all the past experience, and future anticipations, of himself and his country.

*Washington, March, 1822.*

# PORTER'S JOURNAL.

## CHAPTER I.

PASSAGE FROM THE DELAWARE TO THE CAPE DE VERD ISLANDS, AND FROM THENCE TO CAPE FRIO; WITH NAUTICAL REMARKS.

*October 6th, 1812.* I RECEIVED orders from commodore William Bainbridge to prepare the *Essex* for a long cruise, and on the day following received his final instructions, appointing places of rendezvous, and the next day a copy of his orders from the honourable secretary of the navy.

I consequently directed the ship to be furnished with every requisite supply of stores, &c. &c.; ordered for her a new suit of sails and standing rigging; took out the bowsprit and fished it; and put her in the best possible state for service; taking in as much provision as she could stow, and providing ourselves with a double supply of clothing; and fruit, vegetables, and lime juice as antiscorbutics. I also gave the officers and men intimation of the probable length of our cruise, in order that they might supply themselves with such comforts as their means would admit of, they having recently been paid a proportion of the prize-money for the last cruise, and advanced the officers three months' pay. They accordingly furnished themselves with stock, vegetables, and other stores, in as large quantities as could be stowed away; and on the afternoon of the 28th we left the capes of Delaware,\* with the wind from the northward, which gradually hauled around to the westward, blowing fresh, with thick weather, so that it was with difficulty we were enabled to weather the dangerous shoals of Chincoteague. On the morning of the 29th, the wind hauled

\* See note A at the end of the volume.

around to the westward, and increased to a gale. Got the ship under snug sail, and secured our masts, by setting up the rigging, which being new, had stretched considerably. The ship being very deep, we found her unusually labour-some and uncomfortable: her straining, occasioned by her deep rolling, opened her water-ways, and kept the birth-deck full of water, damaged a great deal of our provisions stowed on it, and wet all the bedding and clothes of the crew; found also the coal-hole full of water; found a leak somewhere between the cut-water and stem, but in other respects the ship was tight; for, after scuttling the birth-deck and bulk-head of the coal-hole, we could easily keep her free by pumping a few minutes every two hours.

Previous to leaving the river, the crew had been put on allowance of half a gallon of water each man per day; and being desirous of making our provisions hold out as long as possible, having views, at the same time, with regard to the health of the crew, I caused the allowance of bread to be reduced one half, and issued in lieu of the remainder, half a pound of potatoes, or the same quantity of apples. Every other article of provisions was reduced one third, excepting rum, of which the full allowance was served out raw to the cook of each mess, (the crew being divided into messes of eight, and a cook allowed to each,) who was accountable for its faithful distribution. For the undrawn provisions, the purser's steward was directed to issue due-bills, with assurances on my part that they should be paid the amount on our arrival in port. Orders were given to lose no opportunity of catching rain-water for the stock, of which we had a large quantity on board, every mess in the ship being supplied with pigs and poultry. The allowance of candles was reduced one half, and economy established respecting the consumption of wood and the expenditure of the ship's stores. Habits of cleanliness and care with respect to clothing were strongly recommended to the officers and crew. I now gave a general pardon for all offences committed on board; recommended the strictest attention to the discipline of the ship; held out prospects of reward to those who should be vigilant in the performance of their duty; and gave assurances that the first man I was under the necessity of punishing should receive three dozen lashes; expressing a hope, however, that punishment du-



ring the cruise would be altogether unnecessary. I directed, as a standing regulation, that the ship should be fumigated in every part every morning, by pouring vinegar on a red-hot shot, and confided to lieutenant Finch the superintendence of the birth-deck, in order to preserve it in a cleanly and wholesome state. Lime being provided in tight casks, for the purpose of white-washing, and sand for dry-rubbing it, and orders given not to wet it if there should be a possibility of avoiding it, a comfortable place was fitted up for the accommodation of the sick on the birth-deck; cleets were put up for slinging as many hammocks as possible on the gun-deck; and orders given that no wet clothes or wet provisions should be permitted to remain on the birth-deck, nor the crew be permitted to eat any where but on the gun-deck, except in bad weather. Having established the above and other regulations, as regarded the health and comfort of the crew, I exhorted the officers to keep them occupied constantly during working hours, in some useful employment, and directed that two hours, between four and six o'clock in the afternoon, should be allowed to them for amusement, when the duties of the ship would admit.

The 30th was devoted entirely to airing the bedding, drying the clothing of the crew that was wet during the gale, getting the birth-deck in the most comfortable state, exercising the crew at the great guns, and putting the ship in the best state for service. We found the powder in several of our guns wet, all of which we reloaded, and more carefully secured.

Previous to leaving the Delaware, we landed at the hospital the following men, whose health I did not conceive would enable them to stand the fatigues of the cruise. As they had most of them been a long time on the surgeon's list, and were considered incurable, I believed it advisable not to take them to sea: to wit, William Stanwood, quarter-gunner, John Francis, carpenter's yeoman, Charles Frederick, Peter Johnson 2d, James Wallace, Charles Smith, John Smith, John Anderson, seamen, and William Hubbell, supernumerary. William Klaer, through mistake, was not sent.

My crew, at the time of my departure, consisted of the following persons:

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
2.	John Downes	1st Lieutenant
3.	James P. Wilmer	2d do.
4.	James Wilson	3d do.
5.	William Finch	Acting 4th do.
6.	Stephen D. McKnight	Acting 5th do.
7.	John G. Cowell	Sailing-master
8.	Robert Miller	Surgeon
9.	David P. Adams	Chaplain
10.	John R. Shaw	Purser
11.	William H. Haddiway	Midshipman
12.	David G. Farragut	do.
13.	Richard Dashiell	do.
14.	John S. Cowan	do.
15.	Charles T. Clark	do.
16.	William H. Odenheimer	do.
17.	Henry W. Ogden	do.
18.	Henry Gray	do.
19.	George W. Isaacs	do.
20.	William W. Feltus	do.
21.	Thomas A. Conover	do.
22.	David Tittermary	do.
23.	Richard K. Hoffman	Acting Sur. mate
24.	Alexander M. Montgomery	do.
25.	Edward Linscott	Boatswain
26.	Lawrence Miller	Gunner
27.	John S. Waters	Carpenter
28.	David Navarro	Sail-maker
29.	W. W. Bostwick	Captain's clerk
30.	William P. Pierce	Master's mate
31.	James Terry	do.
32.	Thomas Belcher	Boatswain's mate
33.	Joseph Hawley	do.
34.	William Kingsbury	do.
35.	George Martin	Gunner's mate
36.	James Spafford	do.
37.	John Langley	Carpenter's mate
38.	Bennet Field	Armourer
39.	George Kensinger, jun.	Master at arms
40.	John Adams	Cooper
41.	John Francis	Cockswain
42.	Thomas Coleman	Steward

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
43.	John Haden	Cook
44.	Thomas Bailey	Boatswain's yeoman
45.	Thomas Edwards	Gunner's yeoman
46.	Benjamin Wodden	Carpenter's yeoman
47.	James Rynard	Quarter-master
48.	Francis Bland	do.
49.	William Gardner	do.
50.	John Mallet	do.
51.	Robert Dunn	do.
52.	John Thompson	do.
53.	Isaac Valance	do.
54.	Benjamin Geers	Quarter-gunner
55.	Adam Roach	do.
56.	James Steady	do.
57.	Leonard Green	do.
58.	James Marshall	do.
59.	Edward Sellman	do.
60.	Henry Stone	do.
61.	Henry Ruff	Boy
62.	Joseph Smith	Seaman
63.	John Royte	Boy
64.	James W. Stewart	Seaman
65.	Daniel Gardner	Ordinary seaman
66.	John Rodgers	Seaman
67.	George Wyne	do.
68.	William Forbes	Ordinary seaman
69.	John M'Keever	do.
70.	Henry Vickers	do.
71.	William Holland	do.
72.	Edward Sweeny	do.
73.	Joseph Thomas	Seaman
74.	Robert Phillips	Landsman
75.	Jonathan Henfield	Seaman
76.	Thomas Gibbs	Ordinary seaman
77.	John Scott	do.
78.	Edward Highley	do.
79.	Ephraim Baker	do.
80.	Joseph Ferrell	do.
81.	John H. Parsall	Seaman
82.	Samuel Miller	Ordinary seaman
83.	John Compodonico	Seaman



<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
84.	Joseph Johnson	Seaman
85.	William Hamilton	Landsman
86.	Jordan Williams	Seaman
87.	Henry Barker	Ordinary seaman
88.	Philip Thomas	Seaman
89.	Thomas Carlton	do.
90.	Francis Porter	do.
91.	Henry Piper	Ordinary seaman
92.	Martin Gilbert	Seaman
93.	Thomas Johnson 1st	do.
94.	Robert Scatterly	do.
95.	George Hill	Ordinary seaman
96.	Martin Stanly	do.
97.	Thomas Nordyke	Seaman
98.	John Russell	do.
99.	William Simons	Ordinary seaman
100.	Francis Green	do.
101.	John Wyble	Seaman
102.	Daniel Coleman	Landsman
103.	William Hines	Ordinary seaman
104.	John Thomas	do.
105.	Jasper Reed	Seaman
106.	Robert White	do.
107.	Thomas Mitchell	Ordinary seaman
108.	John Brown	Seaman
109.	William White	do.
110.	William Burton	Boy
111.	Matthew Tuckerman	Seaman
112.	William Boyd	Ordinary seaman
113.	John Robertson	Seaman
114.	Joseph Emerson	do.
115.	John Stone	do.
116.	William Lee 1st	Boy
117.	Zachariah Mayfield	Landsman
118.	Francis Davis	Seaman
119.	Peter Allan	do.
120.	John Alvison	do.
121.	John Lazarro	do.
122.	Jacob Harrison	Boy
123.	John M. Cresup	Ordinary seaman
124.	Henry Humphries	Boy

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
125.	John Williams 2d	Ordinary seaman
126.	London Reed	Landsman
127.	Thomas Andrews	Ordinary seaman
128.	George Stoutenborough	Seaman
129.	William Wood	do.
130.	Richard Sullivan	Boy
131.	John Harvey	Seaman
132.	Henry Kennedy	do.
133.	David Smith	Ordinary seaman
134.	James Clarke	Seaman
135.	Charles Earnest	do.
136.	George Love	Ordinary seaman
137.	Francis Trepanny	Seaman
138.	Bartholomew Tuckerman	do.
139.	William Foster	Ordinary seaman
140.	John Welsh	Seaman
141.	Williams Matthews	do.
142.	William Taylor	Boy
143.	George Williams	Seaman
144.	Daniel Hyde	do.
145.	John Penn	do.
146.	Samuel Jones	Landsman
147.	David Davis	Ordinary seaman
148.	Emero Males	do.
149.	William Godfrey	Seaman
150.	Samuel Groce	do.
151.	William Nichols	Ordinary seaman
152.	Peter Green	Seaman
153.	Benjamin Bartley	Landsman
154.	Nathaniel Whiting	Ordinary seaman
155.	William Jennings	Landsman
156.	John Dobson	Seaman
157.	William Smith	do.
158.	Edmond Ollerson	Ordinary seaman
159.	George Green	Boy
160.	Martial Gilles	Ordinary seaman
161.	Matthew Lawder	do.
162.	John Bachelder	do.
163.	James Nicherson	Boy
164.	Charles M'Carty	Ordinary seaman
165.	William Johnson	Seaman

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
166.	Samuel Howard	Ordinary seaman
167.	Charles Hays	Seaman
168.	Daniel F. Casimere	Ordinary seaman
169.	James M'Rea	Boy
170.	Robert Stanwood	Seaman
171.	Thomas Carroll	do.
172.	Francis Lemon	Boy
173.	James Postell	Seaman
174.	James Daniels	Ordinary seaman
175.	Samuel West	Seaman
176.	John C. Kilian	do.
177.	James Smith	do.
178.	Andrew Smith	do.
179.	James Mahony	Landsman
180.	Benjamin Hazen	Seaman
181.	James Middleton	do.
182.	George Young	do.
183.	James Campbell	do.
184.	James Turner	Ordinary seaman
185.	Richard Sansbury	do.
186.	William Cole	Seaman
187.	John C. Porter	do.
188.	William Bursell	do.
189.	Thomas M'Donald	Ordinary seaman
190.	James Doyle	Seaman
191.	Charles Foster	Ordinary Seaman
192.	Mark Hill	Landsman
193.	Thomas Milburn	Seaman
194.	William Sinclair	Ordinary seaman
195.	Samuel Dinsmore	do.
196.	Sylvester Smith	do.
197.	Enoch M. Miley	Seaman
198.	Joseph Burnham	Ordinary seaman
199.	Thomas O'Loud	Boy
200.	John M'Kinsey	Seaman
201.	Adam Williams	Landsman
202.	John Burd	Seaman
203.	William Christopher	do.
204.	Joseph Roberts	do.
205.	Peter Johnson 1st	do.
206.	Gane Robertson	do.



<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
207.	William Miller	Seaman
208.	James Chace	do.
209.	Reuben Marshall	do.
210.	John Chamberlain	do.
211.	Thomas Brannock	do.
212.	John Boyle	do.
213.	Charles Jamieson	do.
214.	Antonio Sallee	do.
215.	Charles Mooree	Ordinary seaman
216.	James Spencer	Boy
217.	John Jackson	do.
218.	Thomas Brown	Seaman
219.	Mark Antonio	do.
220.	John Collins	do.
221.	William Whitney	do.
222.	Cornelius Thompson	do.
223.	George Rex	do.
224.	Thomas Welch	do.
225.	Samuel Martin	do.
226.	Oliver Nelson	do.
227.	Allan Jones	do.
228.	James Banks	do.
229.	Frederick Barnes	do.
230.	Thomas Ewing	do.
231.	Ramsay White	Ordinary seaman
232.	Barnet Sparling	Seaman
233.	William Lee 2d	do.
234.	Charles Haliards	do.
235.	Henry Holliman	do.
236.	Cadet Gay	do.
237.	John Williams 4th	do.
238.	John Linghan	do.
239.	John Davis	Ordinary seaman
240.	George Douglas	Seaman
241.	Francis James	do.
242.	Thomas Stewart	do.
243.	Levi M'Cabe	do.
244.	Daniel Ross	do.
245.	John Galligher	Ordinary Seaman
246.	Abraham Jackson	do.
247.	John Harris 2d	Seaman

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
248.	James Bantain	do.
249.	Daniel Lombard	do.
250.	John Downey	do.
251.	David Holsten	do.
252.	Israel Covil	Ordinary seaman
253.	Olof Hasslefeldt	Seaman
254.	William Robbins	do.
255.	James Harrison	do.
256.	John Glasseau	do.
257.	Levy Holmes	do.
258.	Samuel Leech	do.
259.	Joseph Linton	Ordinary seamen
260.	James Johnston	do.
261.	Hugh Gibson	Seaman
262.	Joshua Waple	do.
263.	William Clair	do.
264.	Charles Hague	do.
265.	Adam Lawrence	do.
266.	William Concord	do.
267.	Sherard Bryan	do.
268.	George Hall	do.
269.	Mark Scott	do.
270.	John Godfrey	do.
271.	William Holmes	do.
272.	Benjamin Hamilton	do.
273.	George Bartle	do.
274.	John Morris	do.
275.	Nathaniel Jones	do.
276.	John Bennet	do.
277.	James Redden	do.
278.	George Brown	do.
279.	James Duffey	do.

## SUPERNUMERARIES.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>
280.	Samuel M'Isaacs
281.	Josiah Morris
282.	Samuel Manly
283.	Robert Isgrig
284.	John Hubbard
285.	Edward O'Neal

286. Nicholas Ledworth

287. Joseph Dixon

## MARINES.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank.</i>
288.	John M. Gamble	Lieutenant commanding
289.	Abraham Van Deezer	Sergeant
290.	Pierce G. Small	do.
291.	Absalom Krewson	Corporal
292.	Andrew Mahon	do.
293.	William M'Donald	Drummer
294.	William Mick	Fifer
295.	George Fritz	Private
296.	Jonathan Witter	do.
297.	Peter C. Swook	do.
298.	Benjamin Bispham	do.
299.	George Schlosser	do.
300.	John Andrews	do.
301.	Lewis Price	do.
302.	John B. Yarnall	do.
303.	Michael Smith	do.
304.	Jacob Armstrong	do.
305.	John Ayres	do.
306.	Peter Caddington	do.
307.	James Vigory	do.
308.	George Gable	do.
309.	John Pettinger	do.
310.	Thomas King	do.
311.	John Fulmer	do.
312.	Orin Manly	do.
313.	James Milburn	do.
314.	Henry Ashmore	do.
315.	John Long	do.
316.	Isaac Stone	do.
317.	William Whitney	do.
318.	Caleb B. Van Voast	do.
319.	Berlin St. Rose	do.

## RECAPITULATION.

1 Captain	1 Steward
5 Lieutenants	1 Cockswain
1 Lieutenant of marines	1 Cooper



1 Sailing-master	1 Cook
1 Chaplain	1 Boatswain's yeoman
1 Purser	1 Gunner's do.
1 Surgeon	1 Carpenter's do.
2 Surgeon's mates	7 Quartermaster's
12 Midshipmen	7 Quarter-gunners
1 Boatswain	2 Sergeants
1 Gunner	2 Corporals
1 Carpenter	1 Drummer
1 Sail-maker	1 Fifer
1 Captain's clerk	25 Private marines
2 Master's mates	227 { Seamen, ordinary seamen,
3 Boatswain's mates	landsmen, boys, and su-
2 Gunner's mates	pernumeraries
1 Carpenter's mate	—
1 Armourer	319 Total
1 Master at arms.	—

On the 2d of November, the weather began to grow more moderate, in consequence of which, we got up from below all the bread and vegetables stowed on the birth-deck, for the purpose of separating the damaged from the rest. Found about four barrels of bread entirely spoiled, and the same quantity of apples. All the barrels were wet; we therefore started the whole of them, dried the provisions, repacked and stowed them away to more advantage, securing them against farther damage from leaks by covering them with tarpawlings; also, cut two scuttles in the birth-deck, to carry off such water as might enter by the leaks in the water-ways, stem, and down the hatchways; also, took advantage of the good weather to fleet and set up our main rigging, to render the masts more secure; unbent the fore-topsail, which was injured by chafing, and bent another.

Having had favourable winds since our departure, we this day found ourselves in the latitude of  $36^{\circ} 7'$  north; longitude, by dead reckoning,  $58^{\circ} 54'$  west; but with a view of getting into a latitude where we might expect more moderate weather, as well as to cross the track of vessels bound from England to Bermudas, and those from the West-Indies to Europe, stood to the southeast.

On the morning of the 3d, a sail was discovered to the S. W.; made all sail in chase, and at 8 o'clock, discovered her to be a Portuguese merchant brig, bound to the westward; gave over chase, and stood on to the S. E. with light winds from the N. and variable; sent up our royal masts, and employed the crew in various useful jobs, the sick and cooks of the messes being occupied in picking oakum for caulking the waterways, which were found to be very open, in consequence of the oakum having washed out. Got up the marine clothing from the store-room to air, as some of it was found to be wet from the leak in the stem; the other store-rooms on examination proved to be dry. Also, employed the sail-makers in repairing the fore-topsail that was unbent, and gave directions to the officers to get their boats in the best state for service, (each lieutenant of the ship, as well as the sailing-master, having charge of one.) Towards the latter part of the day, the wind hauled around from the eastward, and threatened rain. Rated Benjamin Wadden carpenter's yeoman. This day saw a bird that very much resembled a plover in appearance and note. Latitude, by observation,  $35^{\circ} 1'$  north; longitude, by dead reckoning,  $57^{\circ} 9'$  west; variation of the compass  $4^{\circ}$  westerly.

The winds being light on the 4th, and the weather remarkably pleasant, got up our new suit of sails; bent the new courses, top-gallant-sails, and royals, and fitted the topsails for bending; employed the carpenters in caulking our water-ways, and the crew in various useful jobs.

Fifth, latitude  $33^{\circ} 54' 20''$  north, longitude,  $56^{\circ} 14'$  west by account, variation  $5^{\circ}$  westerly, the winds light and the weather fine, bent our new topsail; kept the crew employed in various useful jobs.

From the 5th to the 7th, nothing remarkable. The weather continuing fine, took advantage of it to get the ship in the best state for service.

On the afternoon of the 8th, blowing fresh and very squally, discovered a sail to the E. N. E.; hauled up for her in chase; at 5 discovered her to be a ship, under her topsails, and courses hauled up, bearing the appearance of a sloop of war. Being about five miles to windward of her, and a heavy squall coming on, took in top-gallant-sails, and two reefs in our topsails, preparatory to getting

the ship ready for action, and beat to quarters. On the squall clearing off, discovered the chase before the wind under a press of sail; made all sail in chase, but lost sight of her after dark, and at 8 o'clock gave over the pursuit and stood on our course. From various causes, I am induced to believe her to be the American sloop of war Wasp, commanded by captain Jacob Jones, who sailed from the Delaware a few days before us.

The whole of the 9th, fresh gales and a heavy sea from the westward.

On the 10th, ascertained our longitude by the distance between the sun and moon's centres to be  $48^{\circ} 30' 35''$  west; and on comparing it with our dead-reckoning, found a difference of five degrees; which arose from a mistake in the marking of our log-line, four knots being marked where three should have been.

The 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, the weather remarkably pleasant, the winds light and variable, inclining to the eastward; nothing of any importance took place during that period; find our sick list decreasing daily, the crew improving in their appearance and conduct, which in general has been extremely good; although, while we lay in the Delaware, the ease of procuring rum on board had produced some little irregularities, which required a few days at sea to correct. I now divided the crew into three watches, finding it sufficiently strong to admit of this arrangement, and took every advantage of the good weather to put the ship in prime order for any service.

Our sick list on the 16th, as follows:

William Klaer, John Glasseau, Benjamin Hamilton, Levy Holmes, Mark Antonio, Thomas Belcher, Thomas M'Donald, Jordan Williams. Of this number only two, to wit, William Klaer and Levy Holmes, were incapable of doing duty; the one from a disease in the liver, the other from intermitting headache.

On the 17th, took advantage of the calm weather to give our rigging a good setting up, and in the afternoon discovered a sail to the W. S. W. Gave chase to and spoke her about 4 o'clock: she proved to be a Portuguese brig, from the Brazils bound to Gibraltar, laden with tobacco; she had been on her passage 52 days, and the only news she could



give us was, that an embargo had been laid on American vessels in the Brazils on the news of the war.

On the 20th, in latitude  $29^{\circ} 33'$  north, and longitude  $31^{\circ} 54'$  west, took the trade wind from the northeast, blowing fresh in squalls, with some rain, of which we only succeeded in catching about sixty gallons for the stock.

22d, at day light in the morning, discovered a sail to windward, running down for us; and being nearly in the track of the homeward bound Indiamen, and outward bound West-Indiamen, we calculated largely on a prize; but on speaking her she proved (to our great disappointment) a Portuguese, from Lisbon bound to New-York, laden with salt.

On the 23d, we were honoured by a visit from the god of the ocean, accompanied by Amphitrite and a numerous retinue of imps, barbers, &c. &c. in his usual style of visiting, and in the course of the afternoon all the novices of the ship's company were initiated into his mysteries. Neptune, however, and most of his suite, paid their devotions so frequently to Bacchus, that before the ceremony of christening was half gone through, their godships were unable to stand; the business was therefore entrusted to the subordinate agents, who performed both the shaving and washing with as little regard to tenderness as his majesty would have done. On the whole, however, they got through the business with less disorder and more good humour than I expected; and although some were most unmercifully scraped, the only satisfaction sought was that of shaving others in their turn with new invented tortures.

24th, spoke a Portuguese ship from Madeira bound to St. Bartholomews, the captain of which informed us, that an English frigate, bound to the Cape of Good Hope, had touched at Madeira, and brought intelligence of the war. As we were under English colours, I of course affected much surprise at the news, and questioned him accordingly.

26th, at sunrise, discovered the island of St. Nicholas; shortly afterwards spoke a Portuguese brig bound to St. Anthony's; run down among the islands that day, and the next night passed in sight of the isles of Sal and Bonavista. The first is high, and may be known by a hill that appears in form like a sugar-loaf, on first making the island; the second has a ragged, irregular appearance.

27th, in the morning, we were between the isles of Mayo and St. Jago. On the sides of the mountains of the latter we could perceive several villages, and large flocks of goats, but the arid appearance of the soil scarcely left us the hope that it would afford us the refreshments we required, as no vegetable or tree of any description could be perceived by us, except a few scattering cocoa-nut trees. The island had altogether a most dreary and uncultivated appearance, and I had partly determined in my own mind only to look into the road of Praya, to see if there were any of our ships of war there, as this was the first rendezvous fixed on by commodore Bainbridge. At 2 P. M. rounded to the east point of Port Praya, and stretched into the harbour, showing the American colours, the Portuguese being displayed on a flashy flagstaff erected on a hill at one corner of the ruins of a fort, in the bottom of the bay, and in front of the town. Perceiving no vessels in the bay except a small Portuguese schooner, I hauled off; but being desirous of procuring some information respecting the commodore, as this was the day appointed by him to leave this place for Fernando de Noronha, I concluded on sending lieutenant Downes ashore, with a person who could speak the Portuguese language; and as a pretext for so doing, I directed him to state to the governor that we were an American frigate wanting supplies, to request his permission to obtain them, to inform him I should fire a salute provided he would return gun for gun, and that I should, provided I anchored, take the earliest opportunity of making my respects to him. On the return of Mr. Downes, he informed me that the governor could not be seen, as he had gone to take his afternoon nap, but that the lieutenant-governor, or second in command, informed him we could obtain every supply we stood in need of; that the salute should be returned gun for gun; that the governor would be happy to see me on shore; expressed his astonishment that I should have asked permission to come in; and concluded with an offer of his services in procuring the supplies we might want. Mr. Downes informed me that no government vessels of war had been at Praya; that the American privateer Yankey, from Boston, and another privateer from Salem, and an armed British schooner, had been there not long since. I consequently concluded on stopping a few days, and, during the

time, to fill up our water, and take in refreshments. I therefore ran in and anchored in seven fathoms water, clear sandy bottom, the flag-staff bearing N. N. W., and the east end of Quail Island west by compass. We fired the salute, which was punctually returned.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th, I waited on his excellency, accompanied by some of the officers. He was engaged at the time on some business at the custom-house, as I was informed, and could not be seen until about 11; the second in command, however, major Medina, who spoke indifferent English, entertained us during the interval, making offers of his services in procuring the supplies, of which we gave him a list. After making the necessary arrangements, and fixing on the prices, we waited on the governor, whom we found at his house, dressed in all his splendour to receive us. His reception was of the most friendly nature, and I am persuaded he was much pleased to see us in the port. He appeared astonished that I should have sent in for permission to enter the port. I informed him, that as the Portuguese were the allies of Great Britain, I had entertained doubts whether he would feel authorized to give us protection against a superior British force, should it appear; but so soon as he had granted permission for us to enter the port, those doubts were removed. He expressed much regret that the war had deprived them of the advantage arising from the American commerce, as they had been cut off from all their supplies, and were now destitute of bread, and every other comfort of life, except what the island afforded, which consisted chiefly in live stock and fruit. He told me that a little flour, or any thing else we could spare, would be most acceptable to him; and invited me to make my dinner with him, on such scanty fare as he was enabled to give me; adding, if I would come on shore next day, he would endeavour to provide something better. I accepted his invitation with as little ceremony as it was given; and although there was but little variety of meats, he had an abundant supply of the best tropical fruits I ever tasted. The oranges were very fine. We this day commenced watering; but, after having to roll the casks about five hundred yards, found great difficulty in getting them from the beach, on account of the heavy surf.

On the 29th, I again dined with the governor, and from



that time until the morning of the 2d of December, we were occupied in getting on board refreshments and water; but of the latter we were only enabled to get about five thousand gallons. The beef was very dear, and very poor; a bullock weighing three-hundred weight cost thirty-five dollars; sheep were three dollars, but very poor; oranges forty cents per hundred, and other fruits in the same proportion, and in the greatest abundance. It is supposed that the ship had not on board less than one hundred thousand oranges, together with a large quantity of cocoa-nuts, plantains, lemons, limes, casada, &c. &c. Every mess on board were also supplied with pigs, sheep, fowls, turkeys, goats, &c. which were purchased tolerably cheap; fowls at three dollars per dozen, and fine turkeys at one dollar each; many of the seamen, also, furnished themselves with monkeys and young goats as pets, and when we sailed from thence, the ship bore no slight resemblance, as respected the different animals on board her, to Noah's ark.

In the town of Praya there are not more than thirty whites; the rest of the population is made up of slaves and free negroes, making altogether not more than three thousand, of whom about four hundred are soldiers. All the officers, except three or four, are mulattoes, and their priest is a negro, who possesses considerable polish of manners. The soldiers are generally destitute of clothing from the waist upwards, and it can be asserted with a certainty of adhering strictly to the truth, that there are not five serviceable muskets in Praya. Most of them are without any locks, their stocks broken off at the breech, their barrels tied into the stocks with a leather thong, or a cord made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut; and it was no uncommon thing to see a naked negro mounting guard, shouldering a musket barrel only. Their cavalry were in a corresponding style, mounted on jack-asses, and armed with broken swords.

The governor informed me, it had been ten years since they had received any pay, or supplies of clothing or arms.

The guns of different calibres mounted about Praya, for the defence of the place, although in commanding situations, are in a state equally bad with the muskets of the negroes. They are placed on ship's carriages, which are old and rotten, scarcely holding together, without platform, shelter, or breast-work, except a slight dilapidated one before the

saluting battery, and another in as bad a state on the west point of the bay. The whole number of guns amounts to thirty; and for them chiefly they are indebted to a Portuguese frigate that was lost by the negligence of her officers about three years since. Port Praya could be taken, and every gun spiked, by thirty men.

An abundance of fish may be caught with the hook and line along side, and with the seine on the beach, where we hauled every morning during our stay. One afternoon, at the particular request of the governor, when himself and the ladies of his family, as well as all the other white ladies of the town, consisting altogether of seven, besides the white and coloured officers, attended. We were not at that time so fortunate as we were afterwards; we however caught enough to afford them a mess, which I caused to be carried to their houses. A very good amusement may be had in the bay, by rowing with a small boat across the mouth, and towing a line with a hook fastened on with wire, and baited with small fish, for the purpose of catching baracoutas. The best time is in the dusk of the evening, and at day-light in the morning.

On the 29th after dinner, the governor visited the ship, with the ladies of his family and all the officers of the garrison, black and white; on his leaving us I caused a salute of eleven guns to be fired. He was much pleased with the attentions paid him, and next day spoke of it with renewed offers of civility. I sent him, as well as Medina, a barrel of flour and pork, with some other small articles, and in return he sent me off six fine turkeys. From the favourable disposition of the governor and officers of the government, as well as the facility of procuring refreshments, I would recommend Port Praya as an excellent place for our ships to stop for supplies. The bay is of easy access, and when the anchor is once settled in the bottom, is perfectly safe. It is necessary, however, to give the ship half a cable before you check her, or the anchor is not likely to take hold, and there is danger of her going on the rocks of Quail Island, as was the case with the Portuguese frigate.

As the governor hinted to me that a letter from me to our minister at the court of Brazil would be agreeable to him, I wrote such a one as I thought would be flattering to him, and sent it on shore, informing him of my intentions to sail that



day. A signal was in consequence hoisted (as he informed my officer) to *permit* us to depart.

The governor is about forty-five years of age, a man of easy and agreeable manners and friendly disposition. The utmost respect is paid to him by all subject to his authority. No one is ever seated in his presence; and, whenever he leaves his quarters, he is always accompanied by a guard; when on foot, he is preceded by a soldier bearing a halbert.

During my stay I became acquainted with a Portuguese merchant, a man of considerable intelligence and wealth, and the owner of property in most of the islands. He was about sending the before-mentioned schooner to the Brazils, with despatches for the governor, for the purpose of procuring a supply from that quarter, which, if they were not able to obtain, he assured me they should be compelled to leave the island, as the drought for the last two years had prevented them from raising any corn, and that there was no such thing as bread in the islands; indeed, the governor's table sufficiently bespoke the scarcity of it. He told me that the island of St. Vincents afforded a much more commodious harbour, a more abundant and cheaper supply of cattle, with fruits of every description in the greatest quantities, and fresh water in abundance, that could be procured with ease. Being the possessor of most of the property in the island, he gave me a letter to his overseer, (to be delivered in the event of my going there,) directing him to furnish us with every supply we might need.

The friendly attentions we met with in the port of Praya, could not have been exceeded in any port of the United States; and, as the Portuguese are the allies of Great Britain, their attentions were as surprising as they were unexpected. I found, however, after I had been with them a short time, that their attachments to the Americans, growing out of their commercial interests and concerns, were very strong; that the only British vessels that ever touched there were vessels of war, who came for supplies, with the haughty, unconciliating conduct of the commanders and officers of which they were by no means satisfied. They spoke of the prince regent as the slave, the tool of the British government, and were highly gratified with the accounts I gave them of our little success over the ships of that imperious navy. The governor assured me, he would



give me *every protection* against any *British force* that should arrive there during my stay, and expressed a strong desire that we should make him another visit, when he hoped to make our time more agreeable.

The two greatest evils to guard against in refreshing at Port Praya, is the bad rum of the country, and the heat of the sun, to both of which the watering party are unavoidably exposed. The negroes and seamen have such a variety of expedients for getting rum on board, that it is almost impossible to detect them. They hover about the beach with the bottles under their arms, where the shawls of the females serve the better to conceal them; and at a favourable opportunity they bury them in the sand, receive their money, while the sailor watches his opportunity for getting it on board or drinking it. They sometimes draw the milk from the cocoa-nuts, fill them with rum, and sell them to the seamen in that state at a high price. The first day we were employed in watering, we had several men drunk; but after that we were more fortunate, as I selected the most trusty men to fill and roll the casks to the beach, with directions to make a signal when they were ready to tow off. By this means, we prevented our boats' crews from having any communication with the shore. A similar precaution was used in getting our supplies of fruit on board: they were brought to the beach by the negroes, and, on a signal being made, boats were sent for them. I should advise ships that intend getting any considerable supplies of water, to employ negroes altogether for filling the casks, and rolling them down to the beach, as it would entirely prevent the necessity of exposing the men, either to the inclemency of the sun, or the temptations held out to them.

The watering-place is a well at the back of the town, in a valley, and the only place from whence the inhabitants receive their supply.

On our arrival at Port Praya, our sick list consisted of Holmes, Klaer, and Hazen; but on the day of our departure there were nine patients on it; three from accidents, and three with inflammatory bilious fevers. This was one cause of my hastening from thence before I had completed filling my water, as I was fearful of introducing disease among the crew. None of the last selected watering-party on shore were in the slightest degree affected by the cli-

mate, although employed from daylight in the morning, until late at night. They were, however, shaded a considerable part of the time by the groves of cocoa-nut trees that grow between the landing-place and the well, and they were not compelled to work in the middle of the day; added to this, those employed after the first day were very temperate, and not known to enter into any excesses.

On hauling around the east point of Port Praya, it is necessary to keep close in with the rocks, at the distance of a cable or a cable and a half, as the current sets strong to the westward, and the wind is generally variable and scant. Without this precaution you will be likely to fall to leeward of the anchorage ground. It is also advisable to run in under top-sails, as it is frequently squally under the lee of the point. It is best to anchor well on the east side of the bay, in order that you may have room to clear the rocks that lie off the Isle of Quails. The wind seldom blows from the southward, and never strong enough to endanger vessels lying in the roads. Vessels bound to Port Praya should guard against entering, through mistake, into a bay that is formed by the southeast point of the island and the east point of Praya, which bears a strong resemblance to Praya bay, and is very dangerous.

Praya may be known by an old fort on point Tubaron; by the black island of Quails, on which several guns are mounted; by the fort and town of Praya; and by a flag-staff, or signal establishment, situated on a mountain, at the back of the east point of the bay. Praya is situated on a plain, on the top of a rock overlooking the bay, the sides of which, toward the sea, are everywhere nearly perpendicular, rendering all approaches impracticable except by two roads, one on the east, the other on the west, which have been cut in the rock, and are very steep. The houses, or cabins, except those of the principal officers, are built of rough stone, one story high, and covered with the branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The police of Praya is rigid; no one is permitted to wear concealed weapons; and had I not been well assured, that there were no better arms in the island, I should have supposed, that fears of an insurrection induced them to put unserviceable muskets and broken cutlasses into the hands of their naked negro soldiers.

*Exhibiting the on board during her cruise from*

Days of the Month.	North	NOTICES.
Oct. 28	37°	water=77°.
29	37°	water=75°.
30	36°	water=74°.
31	37°	, incessant corruscations of lightning all compass.
Nov. 1	37°	water=73°.
2	36°	water=73°—Descried and chased the first in this cruise.
3	35°	water=73°.





**TABLE,**  
*Exhibiting the place, each day at Noon, of the U. S. Frigate the ESSEX; and other remarks, made on board during her cruise from the DELAWARE BAY toward the Islands of CABO VERDE, in 1812.*

Days of the Month.	North Lat.	W. Long. from Greenwich.	Variat. of the Needle.	Thermom. Farenh. scale.	Barom.	Winds and Weather, in the course of the day.	NOTICES.
Oct. 28	37° 53'	73° 27'		67°	28.8	W. S. W. fresh with clouds— from W. by S.—W. by N. with clear and pleasant sky.	Temp. of the water=77°.
29	37° 10'	70° 11'		69°	28.77	From W. by N. to N. W. by W. moderate, with some clouds, but fine weather.	Temp. of the water=75°.
30	36° 48'	67° 54'		70°	28.94	N. W. very light, with clouds— E. S. E. squally, with rain.	Temp. of the water=74°.
31	37° 38'	66° 58'		75°	28.75	S. E. squally, with much rain— W. & S. W. fresh, with show- ers.	In the evening, incessant convulsions of lightning all round the compass.
Nov. 1	37° 01'	64° 28'		76°	28.76	N. W. to W. with some squalls and rain.	Temp. of the water=73°.
2	36° 07'	61° 23'		71°	28.80	W. N. W. light—then from N. E. to E. N. E. very light with some clouds.	Temp. of the water=73°—Descried and chased the first vessel seen in this cruise.
3	35° 01'	60° 02'	4° 40' W. perv. amp.	71°	28.85	E. by S. light—variable—East, fresh—West—nearly calm— somewhat cloudy.	Temp. of the water=73°.
4	34° 26'	59° 37'	3° 43' W. perv. amp.	75°	28.85	Variable and light with showers —E. by S. gentle with a clear sky.	
5	33° 54'	59° 35'	3° 51' W. perv. amp.	74°	28.9	From E. by S. to E. N. E. very light, with a serene and plea- sant sky.	The evening twilight was attended with most enchanting scenes of variegated clouds.
6	33° 11'	59° 31'	3° 06' W. perv. amp.	75°	28.87	E. light airs—variable and light —W. by N. a fine breeze— clear sky.	This evening, observed a grand meteor, which continued to glitter several minutes before it exploded. Its direc- tion was South.
7	32° 43'	58° 37'		73°	28.88	N. N. W. fresh, with clouds and some rain.	Discovered the second vessel, which presented a warlike aspect, but she eluded our active chase during the dark night, that ensued.
8	32° 15'	55° 03'		69°	28.8	From W. N. W. to N. W. strong and squally with some rain.	
9	31° 18'	61° 36'		72°	28.75	N. N. W. strong breeze—some- times in hard squalls with rain.	This day, experienced a very high and troublesome sea, coming from S. W.
10	31° 06'	48° 12'	0° 40' W. perv. amp.	72°	28.8	From N. N. W. to N. by E.—fine breezes with pleasant wea- ther.	Temp. of the Water=74°.
11	30° 29'	46° 25'	1° 46' E. perv. amp.	74°	28.48	N. light—S. W. light—S. S. E. light, with very pleasant wea- ther.	
12	30° 32'	44° 12'		76°	28.88	S. by E. fine steady breeze with clear weather.	
13	30° 47'	41° 20'		76°	28.9	S. by E. fresh—variable & fresh with hazy but fine weather.	
14	31° 10'	37° 38'		76°	28.9	S. by E. light—calm—E. fine breeze, with broken clouds.	
15	30° 48'	36° 37'		76°	28.86	E. S. E. light—sky thinly clouded.	
16	30° 05'	35° 40'	16° 38' W. perv. amp.	75°	28.88	E. by S. light airs—variable and very light, with gathering clouds.	In the evening, observed another of these charming scenes, which are common in this region; every thing visible in the moon-light assumed a beautiful green complexion.
17	30° 38'	34° 17'	13° 46' W. perv. amp.	76°	28.87	S. E. by S.—sometimes light and sometimes a fine breeze.	Discovered a third vessel; chased, and found her a Portu- guese.—In the evening, another of those beautiful scenes.
18	31° 09'	31° 57'	13° 43' W. perv. amp.	75°	28.76	S. light—S. W. a fine breeze, with broken clouds and hazy atmosphere.	Temp. of the water=74°.
19	30° 26'	31° 41'		76 1-2°	out of order.	S. W. light airs—N. E. fresh with some showers of rain.	Temp. of the water=73 1-2°.—Here commence the re- gular Trade-winds.
20	29° 34'	31° 28'		72°		E. N. E. fresh, with frequent showers of rain throughout the day.	
21	27° 28'	29° 52'		74°		E. N. E. fresh breezes—some- times in strong blasts—with hard broken clouds.	Temp. of the water=73°.
22	25° 27'	28° 39'	14° 19' W. per az.	76°		Between N. E. and E. by N. in fresh breezes and squalls throughout the day.	Temp. of the water=75°.—Sailors' ceremony of "Cross- ing the Line."
23	23° 40'	27° 01'		74°		E. N. E. fresh and squally— with a thickly clouded sky.	Saw and chased a fourth vessel, but she was another Portuguese.
24	21° 32'	24° 52'		76°		E. N. E. strong breezes and fre- quent squalls, with cloudy wea- ther.	Temp. of the water=76°.—Observed and came up with the fifth vessel—a Portuguese also.
25	18° 24'	23° 30'		76 1-2°		E. by N. moderate breezes with a thinly clouded sky.	In the morning, discovered the Islands Santa Lucia, San Vicente, and San Nicolas, to the S. W.
26	16° 39'	23° 26'	15° 38' per m. amp.	76 1-2°		Light and variable breezes, but chiefly from E. by S.	Saw the Islands Sal, and Buonavista.
27	14° 59'	23° 28'	14° 58' W. perv. amp.	77°		Light and variable, with very pleasant weather.	In the morning, coasted along the East shore of Santia- go—then anchored in Portada Praya.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



The following determinations were made at Port Praya, by astronomical observations :

Latitude	14° 54' 05" north
Longitude	23° 30' 17" west
Variation of the compass	14° 58' 00" west.

Praya at present has no commerce. It derives its principal support from vessels that casually stop for refreshments, and its only importance from being the residence of the captain-general of the islands of Cape de Verd, who receives a salary from the crown of \$200 per month, and draws some portion of the revenue arising from the sale of cattle to foreign vessels, on every head of which is a duty equal to one half the amount, paid by the purchaser. Whether this is an imposition of the officers of government, I will not pretend to decide ; I would, however, recommend it to such vessels as require fresh provisions, to purchase sheep, hogs, and poultry, in preference to beef, on account of the cheapness and quality. Nor would I advise the purchase or contracts to be made the first day of the arrival ; if a salute should be fired, in the course of a day or two the country people flock in from all parts of the island, and the price of every article is reduced one half.

St. Jago produces, besides every species of tropical fruits, sugar, indigo, coffee of a superior quality and flavour, orchilla, a vine for dyeing, which is a monopoly of the crown, cotton, and (during the fruitful seasons) corn in such considerable quantities, as to enable them to make large exportations to Madeira and the Canaries. Manufactories of a kind of cotton shawl, worn by the women of the island, are carried on in almost every family. It is remarkably neat, and consists of a number of narrow stripes, so artfully joined as to render the seam scarcely perceptible. Coverlids of the same kind for beds are also made.

On leaving the port we shaped our course to the S. E. with a view of deceiving the people of Praya, and impressing a belief that we were bound to the coast of Africa. When, however, we were at such a distance that the ship could no longer be seen from the town, I stood S. S. W. by compass with a view of falling in with the Island of St. Pedro de Ponedro, said to be situated in latitude 0° 55' north, and, according to Blunt, in longitude 29° 10' west. The French, however, have placed it in longitude 29° 34'

west from Paris, answering to  $27^{\circ} 14'$  west from Greenwich. The sailing directions for the East-India Pilot place it between  $0^{\circ} 55'$  and  $1^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, and longitude west from London  $31^{\circ} 25'$ . All these calculations having been made by the run of vessels from St. Helena and Ascension, and not from astronomical observations, I determined to fix the true position of the island, if we should be enabled to find it.

On the 3d December, Levi Holmes departed this life: he had laboured under a paralytic affection since our departure. His remains were committed to the deep, according to the funeral ceremonies of the church.

My chief care was now the health of my people; and all the means that suggested themselves to my mind to effect this great object were adopted. The utmost cleanliness was required from every person on board, and directions were given for mustering the crew every morning at their quarters, where they were strictly examined by their officers. It was recommended to them to bathe at least once a day, and the officers were requested to show them the example. They were required, also, to use every means in their power to provide constant employment for the men under their control during working hours, and amusement for them during the hours of recreation, and to be particularly careful not to harass them by disturbing them unnecessarily during their watch below, as also to guard against any improper or unnecessary exposure to the weather. Economy was recommended to the crew in the use of their supply of fruit, and permission was given to suspend it in the rigging, and other airy parts of the ship, in nets made for the purpose, with a promise of the severest punishment to such as should be detected in stealing from others. With those precautions to procure exercise and cleanliness, with proper ventilations and fumigations, a young, active, healthy, and contented crew, a ship in good order for the service we were engaged in, well found with the best provisions, and the purest water, perfectly free from all bad taste and smell, I do not conceive why we should be in greater apprehension of disease originating on board now, than on the coast of North America. We have friendly ports under our lee, where we may stop from time to time to procure the necessary supplies of refreshments;

and the temperature of the atmosphere, although the mercury in the day time stood at  $85^{\circ}$ , when between the latitude of  $6^{\circ}$  and  $12^{\circ}$  N., was not sensibly hotter than I have frequently experienced it on our own coast. The clouds which overhang the atmosphere during the day, and nearly obscure the sun, served greatly to meliorate the effects of its rays; a moderate and steady breeze from the east contributed greatly to refresh the air; and sailing could not be more pleasant than was our passage towards the line. The landsmen on board were delighted with it, and the seamen felicitated themselves that it was not always the case at sea, "or all the old women in the country (as they expressed themselves) would have been sailors." Between those latitudes, we met with great quantities of that gelatinous substance, generally known by the name of sun-fish.

Finding that the large quantity of stock on board must necessarily consume a great deal of water, or suffer, I directed that the seamen should kill all their pigs; and as the young goats, by sucking the old, deprived us of their milk, I directed that they also should be killed. Many petitions were sent in to me to save from slaughter a favourite kid, or a pig that had been destined for a Christmas dinner, with assurances from the owner that it should be supplied with water from his own allowance, although each man was allowed only half a gallon; yet I found it necessary to be inflexible, to avoid the imputation of partiality. If I had granted the petition in one instance, I should have had to do so in all, and the quantity of stock, and the dirt occasioned by them, were no inconsiderable inconveniences on board.

On the 6th I had the happiness to see our sick list reduced to four patients, to wit:

William Klaer, disease of the liver.

Thomas Ewing, sprained ankle.

Martin Gilbert, contused fingers.

John Collins, bilious fever, convalescent.

The regulation of permitting the crew to sleep on the gun-deck, with the ports open, where they have a free circulation of air, contributes not a little, in my opinion, to the preservation of their health. Most commanders are averse to this indulgence, in consequence of supposing their hammocks in the way of the guns. But so far from perceiving a disadvantage in it, I find a great advantage in



always having the men near their quarters, where, on the slightest alarm, they may be ready for action. Should circumstances make it necessary for us to pipe up the hammocks, on seeing a strange sail at night, they can be lashed up much sooner and with less confusion on a roomy gun-deck, than from a dark and crowded birth-deck. But if it should happen (which cannot be the case with a good lookout) that a vessel is close on board before she is discovered, and there should not be time to get the hammocks on deck, it is an easy matter to cut away the lanyards, and throw the hammocks below, or on one side, clear of the guns. It must be understood that none are permitted to sleep on the gun-deck, but those who are quartered at the guns there. They are compelled to sling the hammocks opposite their guns, and are accountable for the safety of every article belonging to them. Ships that adopt this regulation, with other proper precautions, have always healthy crews; and this circumstance alone, which contributes so much to their comfort, and in time of action must render them more efficient, should overcome the trifling, ill-founded apprehension of not having the hammocks stowed in time for action. Fifteen minutes are sufficient at any time to make every preparation for action; and on discovering a vessel at night, there can be no circumstance which should render it necessary to run along side of her without taking that much time to prepare for battle. In order to have the hammocks in a greater state of readiness for stowing away, orders were given that every man, on turning out to take his watch, should lash his hammock up in readiness to take on deck.

The sick are never permitted to remain on the gun-deck at night, but are brought up by their messmates every morning, and their hammocks are slung in some cool, agreeable part of the gun-deck, where they will not be disturbed by persons at work or running against them.

What can be more dreadful than for three hundred men to be confined with their hammocks, being only eighteen inches apart, on the birth-deck of a small frigate, a space of seventy feet long, thirty-five feet wide, and five feet high, in a hot climate, where the only apertures by which they can receive air are two hatchways of about six feet square? A call to their watch must be a relief from their sufferings; and although it exposes them to all the ills attending the

violent and sudden chills occasioned by the dews and night air while the pores are open, and the body in a profuse perspiration, it is more tolerable than suffocation. Those sudden and frequent changes from heat to cold must, in time, wear out the strongest constitution, and produce incurable diseases. From the number confined in so small a space, the whole atmosphere of the ship becomes tainted, and not only those who are compelled to sleep below, but every person on board, is affected by the pernicious vapours arising from the birth-deck. Various expedients have been adopted to remove this foul air: fumigation with gunpowder, and burning fires below, purifying by sprinkling vinegar, and ventilating by means of wind-sails. But the most effectual remedy, although the most uncomfortable, and perhaps not adopted for that object, is the French practice of baking their bread in ovens built on the birth-deck. While heating them, a constant current of air rushes towards the fire, the foul air is carried off, and fresh air rushes in to supply its place. I have not, however, found either of those methods necessary, and therefore have practised none except ventilation. As we have but few who sleep on the birth-deck, we have no foul air generated; and it is found that good wind-sails, and a little vinegar evaporated in the manner formerly mentioned, are sufficient to keep the air perfectly sweet. The latter practice, however, is in opposition to the opinion of Dr. Miller, my surgeon, who declares it to be extremely injurious, in consequence of the corrosive qualities of the vinegar. The smell arising from it, however, is very agreeable, the vapour very searching; and as I have not, after an experience of several years, discovered any bad effects from it, and have from that, or some other cause, been so fortunate as to have healthy crews, I am determined not to discontinue that mode of fumigation, until I am convinced by facts that the practice is prejudicial.

Being now in the latitude of 4° north, we begin to experience slight variations in the trade winds, hauling from the N. E. to E. by S. and at intervals heavy showers of rain, of a few minutes continuance; but we were not able to catch any water, although our rain-awning was kept spread for that purpose. We also had some distant lightning to the southward, and sometimes the rain was accom-

panied by a little increase of wind, but more frequently calms. But little change was perceived in the temperature of the air; and the clouds continued to hover over and obscure the sun. We have not seen, since we left the Cape de Verds, any specimens of that weed, commonly known in America by the name of the gulf-weed; nor any other kind of weed floating on the surface of the sea, or any birds that could lead us to suppose we were in the neighbourhood of such places as they generally resort to. The only fish that came near the vessel were a few porpoises, and of them we did not succeed in striking any.

On the 8th, in latitude  $3^{\circ}$  north, we began to experience the S. E. trade winds; and a considerable change took place in the temperature of the air, as the thermometer fell to  $82^{\circ}$ . In the afternoon we saw several of those birds called sheerwaters; but as they are to be met with, at times, in every part of the Atlantic, I did not consider their appearance as a certain indication of the vicinity of land, although by our calculation we suppose ourselves to be only about forty leagues from Penedro de St. Pedro. I this day caused the crew to be paid in cash the amount due them for the stoppages of provisions.

It has excited much astonishment among seamen why the temperature of the air should be so much warmer to the northward of the line, at all seasons of the year, than at the southward, and that the N. E. trades should always be met in a northern latitude, particularly when the sun is in his highest southern declination, as he happens to be at present; but by running the eye over the chart the mystery is solved.

It is well known that the trade winds blow from the eastward to the westward throughout the year, but undergoing some slight variations from local causes, or the change of the sun's place in the ecliptic. Those winds, it is generally admitted, are caused by the highly rarefied state of the air between the tropics, and the passage of the sun from east to west, or rather the earth's rotary motion from west to east; it follows thence that a current of cold air must rush to those points where the air is most rarefied, to restore the equilibrium. And as the coast of Africa to the north of the equator, and between Cape Verd and Sierra Leone, projects west, to within ten or twelve degrees of the usual track of vessels crossing the line bound to the southward, and as the



trade-winds, before they reach this point, pass over a tract of land, extending from the Gulf of Arabia to the Atlantic, and equal in width to sixty-five degrees, it may be presumed that they must contract in their passage a great intensity of heat, of which they lose but a small portion before reaching the track of vessels. It may therefore be expected, even if facts did not prove it to be the case, that the most intense heat of the trades experienced by vessels is near the most westerly projection of Africa, or between the latitudes of  $5^{\circ}$  and  $12^{\circ}$  north.

From Sierra Leone the land trends to the eastward for about twenty-five degrees, and forms that part of the ocean called the Gulf of Guinea, the bottom of which lies in about  $12^{\circ}$  east longitude. Consequently, a space of ocean extends between the continent and the ship (when between the line and latitude  $5^{\circ}$  north) of upwards of thirty-five degrees; and as the trades in passing over the continent here from the Indian seas have only a passage of  $30^{\circ}$ , they contract only a proportionable degree of heat; and as it might be expected that much of it would be lost before they reach the ship, it seems natural to suppose that they would incline toward the north, to restore the equilibrium, (destroyed by the highly rarefied air from the projecting point of Africa,) and thus produce the cool and refreshing S. E. trade winds. When the sun is to the north of the equator, the S. E. trades are to be met in a more northern latitude, but they are at all times to be met to the north of the line.

On the afternoon our longitude, by a very accurate chronometer, was  $26^{\circ} 41' 39''$  west, the latitude at meridian was  $3^{\circ} 2' 6''$  north.

On the evening of the 9th, being in the latitude of  $1^{\circ}$  north, and longitude  $28^{\circ} 45'$  west, hove the ship to, for fear of running in the night past Penedro de St. Pedro. We were not enabled to strike into the latitude of the island farther to the eastward than  $27^{\circ}$  west, on account of the scantiness of the winds; nor did I conceive it would be safe to run farther west than  $29^{\circ} 15'$ , for fear of not being able afterwards to make the island of Fernando Noronha. I therefore, at eight o'clock the next morning, finding myself in that longitude, (determined by the lunar observation the preceding evening, with which the result given by the chronometer agreed within a few minutes,) gave up the search.

I at that time had a view of twenty-five miles to the westward, and am enabled to state positively, that the island of Penedro de St. Pedro, or St. Pauls, does not exist between the latitudes of  $55'$  and  $1^{\circ} 20'$  north, and the longitudes of  $27^{\circ}$  and  $29^{\circ} 40'$  west. I had, however, to regret, a few hours afterwards, that I did not extend the search farther, as a large flock of gulls, and other birds that frequent the shores every night, convinced me that I was in the neighbourhood of land.

In our run from the latitude of  $10^{\circ}$  north, we have constantly experienced a current setting to the northward and westward, at the rate of from twelve to eighteen miles in twenty-four hours, which was found to be strongest as we approached the equator, but less inclining to the westward. This current, at this season of the year, seems difficult to account for, if we do not attribute it to the effects of the strong S. E. trades to the south of the line, and this seems admissible. The S. E. trades, when the sun is in the tropic of Capricorn, may be supposed to extend as far south as the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$  or  $30^{\circ}$ , propelling a current of water toward the coast of Brazils. It there follows the obliquity of the east coast, and flows off to the northward and eastward, until it meets the E. and N. E. trades to the north of the line, which, when at the latitude of  $6^{\circ}$  or  $10^{\circ}$ , changes its course from the northward and eastward to the northward and westward. As it proceeds farther north it becomes more affected by the trades, and at length takes their course, and flows with the other waters borne down by them through the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico, following the direction of the continent, until it finds an outlet between the Bahama Islands and the coast of Florida, producing that current on the coast of North America, known by the name of the Gulf Stream. The currents to the south of Cape Frio may be supposed, from the same cause, to take a southwesterly direction, losing themselves in the southern ocean. The observations made by different navigators seem to authorize this belief. Bougainville, on the east coast of Brazil, experienced a northeast current; and, speaking of the current generally on the coast of Brazil, he says, "the S. E. currents that navigators have experienced on this coast are subject to variations, and sometimes take a contrary direction;" and again, "it appears that in those

parts the currents vary, running sometimes to the N. E., but more frequently to the S. W.;" "a glance of the eye on the direction of the coast is sufficient to prove that it should necessarily follow one of those courses."

Lieutenant Blight, when in latitude  $2^{\circ}$  north, longitude  $20^{\circ}$  west, discovered a current setting to the N. E., at the rate of 14' in fourteen hours.

Vancouver found strong and irregular currents between the Isle of St. Antonio, one of the Cape de Verds, and Cape St. Augustine, and, in consequence, contests the opinion of Nicholson, in his hypothesis given in his East-India sailing directions, published in 1787, by which it appears, the current should set regularly to the north at that season of the year, (July.) The observations of Vancouver, however, so far from operating against my theory, serve to establish it. For, according to him, the Gulf Stream, in following the direction given by the coast of America, the Banks of Newfoundland, and the prevalence of northerly winds in the northern hemisphere, should produce a southeast current among the Cape de Verds, which, as it falls in with the current occasioned by the N. E. and E. trades, takes a direction southwesterly, combining at length with the trade current and current from the Brazil coast, and flowing off to the west.

Vancouver has not given us any data from which we may draw any just conclusions: he observes, "From the Isle of St. Antonio, as far south as Cape St. Augustine, the currents are very irregular, and in the latitude of  $6^{\circ}$  north there is a strong ripple. Those currents, notwithstanding the general opinion, do not appear to have any irregularity; for it appeared that we were set in a different direction from the one we expected from its effects on us the preceding day; and those that we most experienced had a southerly direction, and more frequently to the southeast than to the southwest."

The ripple of which Vancouver makes mention, I also discovered, and in the same latitude, with a very high and irregular swell from the northward. The ripple I attributed entirely to the meeting of the currents; and, perhaps, the swell may be owing, in some measure, to the same cause, though I rather think it owing to banks formed in



that neighbourhood by the deposite of matter brought from the coast of Brazils.

All navigators, in crossing between the Cape de Verds and the coast of Brazils, have remarked the irregularities of the currents, but none have heretofore attempted to account for them; and I should not have hazarded an opinion on this subject, were I not firmly of the belief that the trade winds are the great cause of currents in the north and south Atlantic oceans.

On the 11th crossed the equator in the longitude of  $30^{\circ}$  W. Since the 9th we have had (particularly at night) squally weather, with heavy showers of rain; this may be accounted for satisfactorily by the vapours being condensed by the cool S. E. trades.

On the 12th, about 2, P. M., discovered a sail to windward, which bore the appearance of a British brig of war; made all sail in chase of her, and at six she displayed a signal. With a view of decoying her down to me, I displayed such British signals as I became possessed of during my last cruise, but without effect. At sunset she hoisted British colours, and after dark made her night signals. At nine we were within musket shot, and being desirous of doing her as little injury as possible, I gave orders that the great guns should not be fired. I hailed her, and directed her to lower her topsails, haul up her courses, and heave to to windward; but as she attempted to run athwart my stern, with a view, as I supposed, to rake us and make her escape, I directed a volley of musketry to be fired, which (I am sorry to say) killed one man on board her. She proved to be his majesty's packet Nocton, bound to Falmouth, of ten guns and thirty-one men. I, that night, took out the prisoners, and a quantity of specie found on board, amounting to about \$55,000.

On the 13th despatched the prize under the command of lieutenant Finch, and as I sent in her seventeen of the prisoners, I was under the necessity of parting with as many of my own crew. I put on board the prize the captain, master, and passengers; and, with a view of securing their neutrality in the event of any attempt to retake the vessel, I permitted them to go on parole of honour, with the privilege of embarking on board any vessel they might meet, bound to England or elsewhere. As I have never permit-

ted prisoners to be plundered in any one instance, the officers and passengers of the brig soon felt themselves, while on board the *Essex*, at perfect ease, and secure from any violence; and they seemed to consider their capture and trip to America more in the light of an agreeable adventure, or party of pleasure, than a misfortune.

A Mr. James Heyworth, a merchant from Brazils, on leaving my ship, presented me with two letters unsealed, which he requested me to present in the event of my going to Rio Janeiro. One of them I found to be a letter of introduction; the other announcing his capture. To show the sentiments by which he was impressed, I shall give a copy of them both.

DEAR BROTHER LAWRENCE,

By the extreme civility of the gentleman who offers to forward this, I am enabled to inform you that we have been captured by an American vessel. However, we are proceeding under the direction of a prize-master to the United States; have liberty, if we fall in with a neutral vessel, to go on board; and if not, we shall proceed to North America. I am under my parole, and expect soon to be with my friends in England.

We have been most humanely treated. I cannot inform you more particulars, having given my word of honour not to disclose any thing relative to our capture. I am well, thank God, in good spirits, and request you will make yourself easy respecting me.

I am, dear Lawrence,

Your affectionate brother,

JAMES HEYWORTH.

December, 12, 1812.

*Los Senrs. Heyworth, Irmoos & Co.*

*No. 10, Resa das Violas, Rio de Janeiro.*

*Messrs. Heyworth, Brothers & Co.*

*Rio de Janeiro.*

GENTLEMEN,

Should it occur, that the bearer of this letter, captain Porter, commander of the United States frigate *Essex*, visits your port, I have to entreat of you, that you will show him every civility and hospitality in your power.

By attending to this request you will essentially oblige me; and by doing which you cannot possibly return, in a suitable manner, the heavy obligation I lie under to captain Porter, for his very generous and humane conduct to me whilst a prisoner on board his frigate.

I remain, dear sirs, very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES HEYWORTH.

American frigate Essex, at sea,  
December 13th, 1812.

The Nocton proving to be a beautiful vessel, and well calculated for the United States service, I took the liberty of recommending her to the secretary of the navy as a cruiser; being anxious that one of the enemy's small vessels should be taken into our service, to supply the place of the Nautilus, which had been taken by the British a short time before.

The prize made sail to the northwest, and we pursued our course to the southward.

The following officers and men were sent on board her, from this ship, to take her to the United States, viz.

Lieutenant Finch, commander	Samuel Manly
Midshipman Thos. A. Conover	Josiah Morris
John C. Porter	William Sinclair
John Godfrey	Ramsay White
John Hubbard	William Klaer
John Williams	Charles Haigh
William Bursell	Berlin St. Rose
Nicholas Ledworth	

A list of the prisoners sent in the brig.

Passen- gers.	{	Mr. James Heyworth	James Rawe, 1st
		Mr. Alex. Watson	James Rawe, 2d
		Wm. Rossendale	Thomas Arthur
Captain Robert Leonard		Thomas Tongue	
Robert Rowe, sailing-master		William Piggotte	
William Pickert, Surgeon		William Alexander	
Robert Sinclair, master's mate		Samuel Rivers	
Arthur Collins, carpenter		William Thomas	
Thomas George, cook			

A list of the prisoners kept on board the Essex.

Richard John, boatswain	Edward Dale
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John Julian	John Knight
George Miller	John Harris
James Walker	Thomas Wailey
Dennis Dailey	John Nichols
John Hicks	Joseph Isles
Richard Blatham	

To guard more effectually against recapture, I caused the youngest and weakest part of her crew to be sent in her, and retained on board all the seamen and strongest men.

On the 13th we set up our rigging, which had become much stretched in consequence of the warm weather, and the larboard rigging particularly so, from carrying sail so long on one tack.

On the afternoon of the 14th made the high peak (called the Pyramid) of the island of Fernando de Noronha, under the lee bow, and kept plying to windward, under easy sail, all night. At midnight, one of the men on the look-out informed the officer of the deck, that he had descried a sail under the lee, but it proved to be the peak of the island.

At day-light bore up for the harbour, disguised the ship as a merchant-man, hoisted English colours, ran close in, and sent the boat on shore with lieutenant Downes in plain clothes, and directed him to inform the governor, that we were the ship *Fanny*, captain Johnson, from London, *via* Newfoundland, bound to Rio de Janeiro for a cargo, out sixty days; that we were short of water, had several of the crew sick with the scurvy, and were very much in want of refreshments; but that we could not anchor, as we had lost all our anchors but one, and that our cables were bad. The boat returned, after being absent two hours and a half; and lieutenant Downes informed me that two British frigates had left this place the last week; that they had reported themselves to the governor as his Britannic majesty's ships *Acasta*, of 44 guns, captain Kerr, and the *Morgiana*, of 20 guns, from England, bound to India; and that a letter had been left by the captain of the *Acasta*, for sir James Yeo, of his majesty's frigate *Southampton*, to be sent to England, by the first opportunity. The boat also brought me a small present of fruit from the governor.

I immediately despatched lieutenant Downes with a present of porter and cheese to the governor, with many thanks

for his extreme civility, and to inform him that there was a gentleman on board, who was intimately acquainted with sir James Yeo, and was going from Brazils direct to England, who would take charge of the letter and deliver it to sir James. About three o'clock, lieutenant Downes returned with the letter, which, on opening, I found to contain as follows :

My dear Mediterranean Friend,

Probably you may stop here ; don't attempt to water ; it is attended with too much difficulty. I learnt before I left England, that you were bound to the Brazil coast ; if so, perhaps we may meet at St. Salvadore or Rio Janeiro : I should be happy to meet and converse on our old affairs of captivity ; recollect our secret in those times.

Your friend, of H. M's. ship *Acasta*,

KERR.

*Sir James Yeo, of H. B. M's. ship Southampton.*

(The following was written in sympathetic ink.)

I am bound off St. Salvadore, thence off Cape Frio, where I intend to cruise until the 1st of January. Go off Cape Frio, to the northward of Rio Janeiro, and keep a look out for me.

Your friend.  
*Sir James Yeo, of H. B. M's. ship Southampton.*

As this was the second rendezvous fixed on by Commodore Bainbridge, I was not at loss to divine whence the letter was from, nor for whom it was intended.

We immediately hoisted up our boat and made sail to the southward.

The Portuguese island of Fernando de Noronha, is in latitude  $3^{\circ} 54' 28''$  south, and longitude  $32^{\circ} 36' 38''$  west from London. It is well fortified in every part, and its population consists of a few miserable, naked, exiled Portuguese, and as miserable a guard. The governor is changed every three years, and during his term of service in the island, has the privilege of disposing of its produce to his own emolument. Cattle in abundance, hogs, goats, fowls, &c. may be had there, as well as corn, melons, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. Ships, formerly, frequently touched for refreshments, wood,

and water, but for seven months prior to the arrival of the *Acasta*, none had been there. There are no females on the island, and none are permitted to be there, from what motives I cannot conceive, except it be to render the place of exile the more horrible. The watering-place is near the beach, at the foot of the rock on which the citadel is placed, and it is with the utmost difficulty and danger that the casks can be got through the surf to the boat. The island produces wood in abundance; but the Portuguese do not permit it to be cut for shipping any where, except on a small island to the east of Fernando, called Wooding Island. This island is in tolerably good cultivation, and produces their principal supply of vegetables. There is no boat in the island, and the only means of communication, between Wooding Island and Fernando, is a small raft or catamaran, which is carefully kept in one of the forts, and is capable of bearing only two men. An abundance of fish may be procured, with but little trouble, with the hook and line.

As clothing is not in use here, as hunger may be gratified without labour, and as there is an appearance of cheerfulness, those that are not in chains may be supposed, in some measure, reconciled to a state as good, perhaps, as any they had formerly been accustomed to.

The governor caused his catamaran to be launched through a surf, (which twice filled our boat, and was near destroying her,) and despatched it to Wooding Island for fruit for us, but before she returned we made sail.

A rise of tide was perceptible here of about five feet. The only anchoring place is near the citadel.

After leaving Fernando de Noronha we kept close on a wind, for fear of not being able to weather the coast of Brazil, as well as with a view of falling in with the track of vessels from Porto Plate and Rio Janeiro. When abreast the Coast of Pernambuco, although at the distance of sixty leagues, we found the weather extremely sultry and oppressive, so much so, as to produce an uncommon degree of lassitude, which it was almost impossible to overcome. I therefore considered it advisable to keep the crew as free from exercise as possible, and out of the sun, with a view of preserving their health, which, to this time, was as good as ever. Our sick list was as follows:

Thomas Ewing, sprained ankle.



Joseph Andrews, sprained ankle.

Thomas Carroll, chronic rheumatism.

Midshipman Tittermary, abscess of the knee.

As some of our people had, contrary to orders, sold their clothes, (at Port Praya,) and as we had not a very large supply of summer clothing on board, (as well with a view of punishing them, as to make our supply hold out,) I did not until now permit their summer clothes to be issued.

The oppressive heat here is, I presume, occasioned by the coast of Brazils, which runs at right angles with the direction of the trades, and occasions an interruption of their course; as it is well known, that winds never blow home (as seamen term it) on a high coast. Added to this, the land breezes, which blow off at night, break in on the regularity of the current of air, and produce the light and baffling winds and calms that we have experienced in this place.

From the accounts I have received from several persons on board, who have been trading on this coast, it appears, that the land-breezes blow very regularly at night, and extend a considerable distance to sea. They serve to favour the passage of vessels bound from St. Salvadore and other ports to the northward, as they stand off shore with the land until they meet the sea-breeze, which enables them to make a considerable slant to the northward.

We, however, were too far off shore to feel the land-breeze, but not too far to experience its effects.

The land-breezes may owe their existence to the following cause. The action of the sun produces, in the day, by rarefying the air, a considerable elevation of the atmosphere, and where the sun's rays are strongest the greater elevation is produced. Between the tropics, but more particularly under the line, this effect is most observable, and where the sun's rays are reflected back by the land, it is still more heightened. When the cause of this extreme elevation ceases, when the sun has set, a general fall of the atmosphere takes place, like water returning to its level to restore the equilibrium; in its fall, should it meet with high land or mountains, it follows the obliquity of their sides, rushing in torrents down through the valleys until it is borne off to the sea, where it spends itself, under the name of the land-breeze, at the distance of a few leagues. On the rising of the sun a new elevation takes place, and a

fresh current of air, called the sea-breeze, rushes towards the land to supply the vacuum. Every where throughout the world, where the sun's rays are felt, this elevation of atmosphere, in a more or less degree, takes place, but not so much as to produce land winds, except within the tropics, and this elevation is always greatly increased by the opposition of land to the sun's rays. The change in the temperature of the earth cannot, as has been supposed, produce this extraordinary elevation of the atmosphere. Was the heat of the sun absorbed by the earth, the effect, instead of being heightened, would be lessened. The elevating effects produced by the earth on the atmosphere, may be attributed to reflection alone, and the current of air, called the land-breeze, is owing entirely to the earth's form. An extensive flat country without mountains, would produce, by reflection, a great elevation of atmosphere; but when the sun, the cause of this elevation, was removed, little or no land-breeze would ensue, for the want of mountains to change the course of the atmosphere from its vertical direction. A great rise and fall of the atmosphere, in the like manner, takes place at sea at a great distance from coasts, but owing to the smooth surface of the ocean and the absence of mountains, we are rendered insensible of it.

On the 13th discovered a sail; and this being the first we had discovered since the capture of the Nocton, it excited great interest among the ship's company. On approaching her, discovered her to be a brig under Portuguese colours, standing towards St. Salvadore; as I did not wish to make ourselves known to her, hoisted English colours and stood on our course.

On the 20th, spoke a Portuguese vessel from St. Salvadore, bound to Lagaira, out eighteen days. We boarded her under English colours, and on the captain's coming on board, he informed me that an English sloop of war had put into St. Salvadore in distress a short time before he sailed, laden with specie, from Rio de la Plata, last from Rio Janeiro, and bound to Europe. From the description he gave me of this vessel, there can be no doubt of her being his Britannic majesty's sloop of war the Bonne Citoyenne, of which we obtained intelligence by the Nocton. The prisoners informed me that she sailed six days before

the Nocton, and was so deep as to be thought by many very unsafe; her sides were painted red, and she is a long, low corvette. This answers the description given by the Portuguese, who informed me, that she had sprung a leak from having been on shore, had taken out all her guns and money, and was preparing to heave out. My first intention was to go and cruise off St. Salvadore until she came out, and made all sail for that port; but, on a little reflection, I considered it advisable to act differently, for the following reasons:

I thought it not unlikely that commodore Bainbridge would, on arriving off St. Salvadore, continue to cruise there for the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and if so, my presence there would prove unnecessary. I did not know, however, but, with a view of collecting his squadron together, he might forego every other consideration, and proceed directly off Cape Frio to join me. I therefore concluded it incumbent in me to be punctual to the time and place of every rendezvous. Added to these, I was induced to believe, that she would leave St. Salvadore under convoy of the admiral's ship the *Montague*, which was to have sailed from Rio Janeiro a few days after the *Nocton*, for St. Salvadore; I therefore made the best of my way for Cape Frio, where I believed I should be enabled to arrive time enough to proceed from thence to St. Sebastians, if it should then be advisable so to do.

When in the latitude of  $17^{\circ} 35'$  south, and longitude of  $34^{\circ} 56'$  west, supposing myself to be on the Abrohla shoal, sounded with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line, but got no bottom; we again sounded in the latitude of  $19^{\circ} 45'$  south, and longitude of  $37^{\circ} 22'$  west, with the same quantity of line, but did not succeed in getting bottom; and between the soundings we did not perceive that the water was in the smallest degree discoloured about this place. Commodore Anson, and other navigators, lay down soundings of considerable extent, at the depth of from twenty-four to eighty fathoms, but I am persuaded that they are laid down erroneously, as our latitude and longitude proved to be very correct. Sir Erasmus Gower, in his passage to Rio Janeiro with lord Macartney, endeavoured to find the shoal, but did not succeed with two hundred fathoms of line, in latitude  $16^{\circ} 18'$  south, longitude  $36^{\circ} 5'$  west; he



again sounded at the same depth in latitude  $18^{\circ} 30'$  south, and longitude  $36^{\circ} 50'$  west, and was equally unsuccessful.

On the morning of the 25th, the colour of the water indicated soundings, and at meridian discovered the land bearing W. by N. ; our latitude, by estimation, was then  $22^{\circ} 46'$  south : the weather being hazy, and sun obscure, we were not able to get an observation.

## CHAPTER II.

## TRANSACTIONS ON THE COAST OF BRAZILS; ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE FROM ST. CATHARINES.

THE land we first discovered was high and irregular, and I had every reason to believe it to be part of a group of islands to the north of Cape Frio. I therefore hauled to the southward to make the Cape, which we discovered about four P. M. Ran down and hove to off the pitch of it, to meet the arrival of vessels bound to Rio Janeiro, this being the point they endeavour to make from the north as well as south, with the exception of some few coasting vessels, and is considered as eligible a place as any in those seas for cruising against the enemy's commerce. Lay to under easy sail until the morning of the 27th, when we saw a sail, to which we gave chase. On approaching her, discovered, from her rig, that she was a Portuguese vessel bound to the westward; I therefore considered it adviseable to disguise the ship as a merchantman, and, on passing her, hoisted English colours, upon discovering which, she hoisted the Portuguese flag. In the afternoon, saw another sail to the southward, which bore the appearance of a British brig of war, to which we gave chase, but did not get within gunshot until about ten o'clock, when we succeeded in bringing her to. On hailing her I was answered in Portuguese; and it appearing that there was no person on board who could speak or understand English, I concluded that she was a Portuguese vessel; and as it came on to blow a fresh gale of wind, and as the boat could not board her without great risk, I determined on permitting her to proceed without further delay.

In the morning I discovered that we had run so far to the westward during the chase, as to bring us within five leagues of the entrance of Rio; I therefore made all sail to endeavour to beat up to Cape Frio. But it came on to blow so fresh, as to render the attempt fruitless, and, as I saw no hopes of succeeding until a change took place, I concluded on taking a position to intercept vessels from Rio, and consequently bore up to run a little to leeward of the harbour,

when I hove to with three reefs in the topsails, and mizzen-topsail aback.

For the two last days the ship has been surrounded with dolphins, of which we have succeeded in catching great numbers.

On the morning of the 29th, the man at the mast-head descried a sail to windward, and on going into the maintop with my glass, perceived that she was a schooner, and standing in for the harbour of Rio. Made all sail in chase to endeavour to cut her off, but did not succeed in bringing her to until about nine o'clock at night, when, after firing several shot at her, she bore up and ran under our lee. She proved to be the British schooner Elizabeth, from Rio bound to England, but had put back in consequence of having sprung a-leak. After taking the prisoners out, we discovered that she had parted with a convoy of British vessels, under charge of the Juniper, a three-masted schooner, about half an hour before she was discovered by us. The prisoners stated, that the Juniper had sailed the night before from Rio, with six vessels in company, to wit: a cutter, 4 ships, and the Elizabeth; that the cutter had gone to the southward to convoy a ship to St. Sebastians, and that the Juniper had proceeded to the eastward with the three others, which were deeply laden, and dull-sailing ships. I also obtained certain intelligence, that the British admiral's ship, the Montague, was still at Rio Janeiro, with all her sails unbent; that a packet had sailed for England on Christmas day; and that there were no British vessels there expected to sail shortly. Believing that I should be enabled to overtake the convoy in a few days, by carrying a press of sail, I used every exertion to get clear of the schooner, and put midshipman Clarke, with six men of our crew, and three prisoners, on board her, with orders, leaving it discretionary with him, whether to go direct to North America, or proceed to Rio Janeiro. In the event of his going to the latter place, I furnished him with the following letter, to be delivered to the American minister there:

United States Frigate Essex, at sea,  
December 29, 1812.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that I have this evening captured the British schooner Elizabeth: but find-



ing her very leaky, and from that circumstance, as well as others, of which Mr. Clarke, the officer in charge of her, will give you information, I have found it necessary to send her to Rio Janeiro; and I beg, sir, that you will do in this case what you may deem most to the advantage of the United States.

Excuse the haste with which I have been under the necessity of addressing you, and accept assurances of the highest respect and consideration.

I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

(Signed)

DAVID PORTER.

*Thomas Sumpter, Esq. American Minister  
at the Court of Brazils, Rio Janeiro.*

I also gave him the two letters of Mr. Heyworth to deliver, if the minister should consider it adviseable to do so. I recommended to Mr. Clarke to put into one of the by-ports along the coast, to examine into the state of the leaks, and endeavour to stop them without going to Rio. I then made all sail to the eastward.

On the morning of the 30th, discovered that our main-topmast trussel-trees were carried away, and we expected every moment that our topmast, rigging, and top-gallant-mast, would come tumbling about our heads; but in my anxiety to come up with the convoy, I determined that this accident should not compel me to give up the pursuit. I therefore directed that the top-gallant-mast should be lashed aloft to favour the mast as much as possible in carrying sail. The winds being to the westward, which enabled us to carry studding-sails on both sides, our rate of sailing was from four to six miles per hour, but against a heavy head sea, that strained our masts and rigging excessively, and occasioned our carrying away some of our light spars, which were soon replaced. On the meridian of this day, I supposed the convoy to be about thirty-five miles to the eastward of us. Since the pursuit, I had regularly estimated their rate of sailing by our own, proportioning theirs to ours as 5 to 7; and as I had possession of the logbook of the prize, and ascertained the point of their departure, it may be supposed, that, as respected the distance made by them, I could not be much out in my calculation. The greatest embarrassment was as to the course they had steered. But knowing

that they would endeavour to get to the eastward, I steered that course along shore, which would prevent, as I believed, the possibility of their keeping in shore of us, without being seen. When I believed myself nearly as far to the east as they were, I steered away to the southeast, with a view of traversing their course; and after running about thirty miles, steered northeast.

During this pursuit, there appeared an evident desire, on the part of the captain of the prize, to deter us from going off St. Salvador, and in pursuit of the *Bonne Citoyenne*. To effect his object, he stated a number of circumstances which we knew to be false, and, among others, that the admiral had sailed from Rio Janeiro to give her convoy, when we had the most certain intelligence of his being at Rio Janeiro with all his sails unbent. From his apparent eagerness on the occasion, I was induced to believe, that the convoy were bound there to join the *Bonne Citoyenne*; and what served to strengthen this belief was, that the *Juniper* sailed from Rio Janeiro with only a small quantity of water on board. Added to this, it was understood that she was not to convoy the vessels beyond a certain distance, when she would leave them and proceed to Halifax, the station to which she belonged. These considerations induced me to make the best of my way to intercept them off St. Salvador.

On the 1st January, 1813, the man at the fore-topgallantmast-head cried out, a sail, and in a few minutes after, three more. The ship was immediately in an uproar, every person hurrying on deck to give chase, as there was not a doubt of these being the convoy; but in a few moments we were undeceived: it proved to be nothing but small clouds rising from the horizon, that bore strongly the appearance of vessels.

On the 2d, at daylight, discovered two sail to windward; gave chase to one, which bore the appearance of a brig of war, the other being a polacca, and had the appearance of a Portuguese. At 9, spoke the chase: she proved to be a Portuguese brig of war, nine days from Bahia, where she left the *Bonne Citoyenne*, and was boarded the day after she came out by a frigate mounting fifty guns, having a sloop of war in company, under English colours.

Knowing that the enemy had but three ships of war in

those seas, to wit, the Montague 74, the Nerus 32, and the Bonne Citoyenne of 20 guns, (the first at Rio Janeiro, the second at the River of Plate, and the third at Bahia,) I was very well satisfied, that the frigate and sloop of war could be no others than the American frigate Constitution and the sloop of war Hornet; and as I expected that they would remain there to endeavour to take the Bonne Citoyenne, I determined to join them with all despatch.

I requested the commander of the brig to call on the admiral immediately on his arrival at Rio Janeiro, and inform him, that he had spoken his Britannic majesty's frigate Hyperion, of thirty-two guns, seven weeks from England, bound to Rio, but having heard of a large American privateer on the coast, I intended cruising for her a short time before I went in. He promised me he would make it his business to do so immediately on his arrival.

My motive for giving this information was to keep the admiral in port, as I had certain intelligence from the prisoners that he expected reinforcements from England, and I was in hopes that the expectation of their arrival in a few days might occasion him to delay his departure in pursuit of the ships off Bahia, of which I was certain he would receive intelligence by the first arrival from that quarter. This would enable me to cruise more leisurely for the convoy, and give sufficient time to join the commodore, before the admiral could get there, as I believed that the Constitution, Essex, and Hornet, would be a match for him.

On the 3d, spoke another Portuguese brig, who informed me that she had left an American frigate and sloop of war off Bahia ten days since.

We now discovered that our mizzen-topmast trussel-trees were in as bad a state as those of the main; and it falling calm, I determined to take advantage of it to repair our damages, having previously caused a new set of trussel-trees to be prepared. We consequently all went to work, sent down the main and mizzen topmasts, stripped them of their rigging, and before night had completed all our repairs.

On the 5th, in the morning, spoke a Portuguese smack, from Rio bound to Bahia; had seen nothing of the convoy; and at meridian spoke a Spanish brig, with troops from Bahia, bound to Monte Video, out eight days; confirmed the account of the American frigate and sloop of war. As the



winds had now shifted to the northward, and blew in fresh gales, I concluded it would be best to make as much easting as possible, to be in a situation to take advantage of any favourable change. Our latitude on the meridian of this day,  $22^{\circ} 13' 17''$  south; longitude  $36^{\circ} 49' 30''$  west. Our crew continue to be remarkably healthy, there being but one man under the doctor's charge; and he a carpenter, who accidentally cut his foot with an adze, in making the trussel-trees.

Between the 6th and 12th, nothing of any importance occurred; the winds being obstinately from the northward, and continuing to blow in fresh gales; nor did I perceive a chance of a change. I determined, therefore, to give up all farther pursuit of the convoy that had already taken us so far from the track of other British vessels, and at 9, A. M., wore round, and stood to the westward. Our latitude at noon was  $24^{\circ} 39' 44''$  south; longitude  $27^{\circ} 43' 20''$  west. My intention was to run into St. Sebastians or St. Catharines, as the wind should suit. My object in going into port was to procure a supply of wood and water, which were both getting low, and to procure refreshments for my crew, as I began to be apprehensive of the effects of salt provisions. I gave the preference to St. Catharines, however, as I was more distant from Rio Janeiro; and I should have an opportunity of getting to sea again, before the enemy could hear of me; for as St. Sebastians is but one day's run from Rio Janeiro, there would have been a certainty of my being attacked, or blockaded, if the expected reinforcements should have arrived. At St. Catharines I had not so much to apprehend from an attack, as I had understood the place was well fortified, and could protect us: added to this, it was a place of more importance. I had reason to expect that I should be enabled to procure a supply of bread, flour, rum, and many other articles of provisions and stores, which would be necessary for us, to enable me to meet at the last appointed rendezvous; that being the only one at which I could now reasonably expect to meet commodore Bainbridge, as he had appointed me at Praya, Fernando de Noronha, and at Cape Frio. St. Sebastians was the fourth place appointed; but as he had changed his whole plan in remaining off Bahia, I thought it just as likely that he would touch first at St. Catharines, the fifth place of rendezvous, as at St. Sebastians.

On the 12th, gave chase to and spoke the Portuguese corvette Calypso, of 22 guns, on a cruise. Caused them to send a boat, with an officer, on board the Essex; and then sent lieutenant Downes to ascertain, to a certainty, whether she was a Portuguese vessel: both ships prepared for action until eight o'clock, when he returned.

The Portuguese officer could not be persuaded that we were Americans; and left us, as I am convinced, under the belief that we were English.

On the 13th, spoke a Portuguese brig, from Rio, bound to Oporto, out twenty-nine days. As this vessel had left Rio long before the convoy, I still entertained some hopes of falling in with it.

From the 12th until the 17th the weather continued remarkably fine; between those periods we saw and spoke but few vessels, and they Portuguese coasters, chiefly from Rio Grande, bound to the north, with jerked beef. From those vessels we could obtain no information respecting the enemy, that could be of any service to us. The crew continue in fine health, except an old man, named Edward Sweeny, who has long been affected by a pulmonary complaint, and the stone. This man was upwards of sixty-four years old; and I should not have brought him to sea with me, had he not generally been useful in tending the stock.

Since I left the United States, the crew have been on two thirds allowance of salt provisions, generally on half allowance of bread, and full allowance of rum; and every month I caused them to be paid the amount due them for undrawn rations. To this regulation they submitted cheerfully; not a murmur was heard from any person on board. I, however, found it necessary to reduce the allowance of rum, in the same proportion as the salt provisions, when every man in the ship refused to receive any of that precious liquor, unless he could get full allowance; stating that when there should be no more on board, they would willingly go without; but so long as it lasted, they wished their full allowance. However, as there was but a small quantity in the ship, and believing that a sudden privation of it altogether, would cause dejection and sickness among them, I determined not to indulge their wishes. I therefore directed that the grog-tub should be upset in fifteen minutes after they were called to ~~grog~~: the consequence was, that every man

hastened to the tub for fear of losing his allowance. After this, no farther complaint was made.

Since leaving Port Praya we had no opportunity of procuring refreshments; our water was getting short, and it became necessary to ascertain what prospect we had of a supply of salt provisions, bread, and rum. I therefore determined to proceed to the island of St. Catharines, and with a view of enabling the officers and crew to provide themselves with such articles as they might need, I distributed among them a large proportion of the prize-money taken from the Nocton. Giving it, however, to the seamen before they had an opportunity of spending it, (although it had the effect of producing cheerfulness among them,) was attended with evil consequences, as it introduced gambling, which was the cause of some thefts. I, however, soon put a stop to it, by signifying that he who asked for, or paid a gambling debt, should be punished; and that all moneys, staked in gambling, should be forfeited to the informer, whose name should remain secret.

On the 13th spoke a Portuguese vessel from Rio Janeiro, the captain of which informed me that the Montague had sailed on the 6th of the month, in pursuit, as was reported, of an American frigate and sloop of war, off Bahia. In confirmation of this, he sent me a newspaper mentioning her departure. He could not tell me whether the admiral had gone to sea in her or not. He was disposed, however, to give me all the information in his power on the subject, being fully impressed with the belief we were an English frigate, from the River of Plate. I was desirous of ascertaining whether the admiral had sailed in the ship, as my conduct would in a great measure be governed by that circumstance. Had he sailed in the Montague, I should have calculated on more time to remain at St. Catharines before being blockaded, as I did not suppose that the reinforcements, which I knew were expected from England, would be enabled to sail in pursuit of me, even if they had heard of my being at that place, before receiving instructions. I, however, determined to stay as short a time as possible, and hoped to get out before they could hear of me. Our latitude on the meridian of this day was  $26^{\circ} 46' 43''$  south, longitude by chronometer  $47^{\circ} 44' 58''$  west.

On the 19th made the island of St. Catharines, bearing



S.W., and stood for the passage between the East Point and the island of Alvarade, until eight at night. Being then at the distance of between twelve and fifteen miles, I lay off and on until morning, when we ran in with light winds from the northeast. As I had no person on board who knew any thing of the place, I was compelled to trust entirely to the lead; therefore kept it constantly going, from the time we first got soundings in seventy fathoms, until we anchored in six; and nothing could have been more regular or gradual than their diminution. The bottom is also remarkable; for, from the time of first striking soundings, until you get inside of Alvarade in ten fathoms water, it is a blue and tenacious mud, so soft that the lead would sink a considerable distance into it. From thence to the anchorage, it was composed of fine sand mixed with mud. With these soundings, and keeping in the middle of the bay, I ran up within two and a half miles of the principal fortification, which stands upon an island, at the distance of about one hundred yards from the continent. I then anchored, with the middle of the large barracks in the fort bearing, by compass, N. three quarters E., distant three quarters of a mile.

Immediately on anchoring, I despatched a boat with Lieutenant Downes, to inform the commander of the fort that we were Americans, and in want of supplies, and to come to an understanding about a salute. He returned in about two hours with offers of civilities, and a promise from the commander, that he would send an officer and pilot on board, in the morning, to take the ship nearer in, and in a better place for taking in our water, &c. In the morning, about nine o'clock, an officer came on board with the pilot, and we got under way, with a light baffling wind from the southward, and the tide in our favour, which generally runs here about one and a half knots. After making two tacks, the wind and tide both failed us. We were then about two miles from the place I wished to anchor in. Being anxious to get the vessel secured as soon as possible, and finding that our boats could give us very little assistance in towing, I put in operation an invention of mine for propelling a ship in a calm, which in three quarters of an hour brought her to an anchor, at the back of the fort, and opposite the most convenient watering-place, in six fathoms water. This contri-

vance consists of two floating anchors, six feet square, which are worked on both sides of the ship, by hauling lines from the spritsail-yard, and a spar rigged across the stern. The line from the spritsail-yard is made fast to the upper corner of the anchor; and when hauled on, it brings the anchor forward skimming along on the surface of the water. When it is let go, the anchor falls, by means of the weight attached to it, in a vertical position. As it is slung something in the manner of a log-chip, and the rope to the stern made fast to the spar, it is dragged aft, propelling the ship in proportion to the force applied to the drag-rope. A ship's crew, consisting of three hundred men, will drag her forward in a calm, with this contrivance, at the rate of two miles per hour.

On passing the fort, we fired a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by an equal number.

When the ship was anchored, I went on shore to fix on the watering-place. The first I saw did not please me, although I was informed that it was the place preferred by all ships for filling their water. It was on the continent, about fifty yards to the southward of a beach about one hundred yards in length, near which were a few huts. The water was excellent; the stream was very clear, and ran from the mountain; but it was impossible to get the casks on shore to fill them, in consequence of the rocks piled up before it. It would have been necessary to fill them in the boat, and as we had nearly all our water to fill, it would in that manner have taken a month to water our ship. The guide then took me to a small sandy beach, farther to the north, and directly opposite the fort, where we found a watering-place, the most convenient of any I ever met with. A small and limpid stream ran from the mountain. The sea had thrown a bank of sand up before its mouth, and formed a small lake of about twenty yards in circumference, and five or six feet deep. It was not necessary to roll the casks five yards. We had a beautiful beach to land on, and for rafting our casks. There are no houses in the neighbourhood. The woods are impenetrable. There is no possibility of the people straggling from their work, nor any inducement for doing so; and what is a great consideration, they cannot get rum. There is one thing, however, that it is necessary to guard against, in order to get good water here. When the tide is high, the sea-water forces

its way through the loose sand ; and while the water on the surface, and for three feet deep, is perfectly fresh, that at the bottom is as salt as the ocean. By dipping it carefully, however, or taking your water higher up the stream, you may at all times get it fresh. We, in two days and a half, completed watering our ship, and got as much wood on board as we had consumed since our departure from the United States. The officers and men, in the mean time, provided themselves with hogs, fowls, plantains, yams, and onions, in considerable quantities, from the boats along side ; but their anxiety to procure them, caused the Portuguese to take advantage of their necessities, and ask the most extravagant prices for every thing, which some of our people had the folly to give, as if their stock of money was inexhaustible. This made my interference necessary, as those who were not disposed to squander their money were likely to go without refreshments. I first began by punishing a man for paying a dollar for a dozen of rotten eggs ; and next, would not permit the boats to sell, after they had come along side, until the price of every article was established as follows : three fowls, one dollar ; nine watermelons for the same sum ; one dollar for a turkey ; and every thing else in the same ratio. After this, I kept persons to observe and report to me such as paid improper prices ; and by these means brought the market down to tolerably fair rates. Nothing could be procured on shore, as every thing had been purchased up by the boatmen. Two of my boats were gone a whole day in search of stock and vegetables, and returned at night with only one pig, a few yams and bananas ; this was all they could procure. Fresh beef was cheap, but we were not enabled to give our people more than two messes, on account of our disappointment in not getting it from town, where we had sent for it, as we were informed on our arrival, that it could not be procured elsewhere.

On the 21st I despatched lieutenant Wilmer to the town of St. Catharines, in one of the ship's boats, accompanied by lieutenant Gamble, Mr. Shaw, purser, doctor Hoffman, and midshipman Feltus. I directed lieutenant Wilmer to wait on the governor, don Luis Mauricio da Silvia, with my respects, and to thank him for the civilities I had met with, and gave him orders to return if possible the same day. I



gave orders to Mr. Shaw to endeavour to procure a supply of beef, flour, bread, and rum; to remain in town until it was ready, hire a vessel, and bring it down. The weather was squally, with heavy rains, when they started, as indeed was the case the whole time we lay here. I felt uneasy that the boat did not return in the evening, but hoped, as the weather had grown much worse, that they had determined on remaining that night; however, at two o'clock in the morning, lieutenants Wilmer and Gamble came into my cabin almost naked, and shivering with the wet and cold. They informed me that the boat had been upset in a squall; but that all hands had saved themselves, after having been four hours on her bottom. They fortunately were to windward of an island, lying in the middle of the bay, where they drifted on shore and righted the boat. They lost all their clothes, as well as every thing they had purchased in town, to the amount of six or seven hundred dollars, but were so fortunate as to find next day, among the rocks of the island, every article that would float. Lieutenant Wilmer informed me, that there would be great difficulties in getting the articles required; that the quantity of bread wanting could not be procured in a month; that there were, also, great difficulties, as well as delays, in procuring a boat to bring them down. I immediately ordered my small gig-boat to be prepared, and in one hour and three quarters landed in the town, although the distance from the ship was thirteen miles. I remained there two hours, to make such arrangements as were necessary; and was about the same time returning to the ship. Next morning Mr. Shaw came down with five puncheons of rum, fresh beef for two days, a quantity of onions, and a few bags of flour; which were all that could be procured. The beef was spoiled before it came on board. We were obliged to throw it overboard; and shortly afterwards an enormous shark, at least twenty-five feet in length, rose along side, with a quarter of a bullock in his mouth. It would be impossible to describe the horror that this voracious animal excited. Several of our seamen, and most of the officers, had been swimming along side the evening previous. A man would scarcely have been a mouthful for him. When he first made his appearance, every one was impressed with a belief that it was a young whale.

During our stay here, we were constantly attended by an

officer from the fort, who was indefatigable in his attentions towards us. His name is Sabine, and his rank was that of sergeant-major. He was in every respect subject to my directions, and delicacy prevented me (whatever might have been his expectations) from offering him any compensation. I gave him, however, at my departure, forty dollars for the pilotage of the ship.

I waited on the commander of the fort the day after I anchored. He was a very old man; his name was don Alexandre Jose de Azedido. He received me with great civility, and, as has been generally the case with the Portuguese, expressed a great desire that our cruise might be successful. The fort has been erected about seventy years; there are mounted on it fifteen or twenty honey-combed guns of different calibres. Vegetation has been so rapid, that the walls of the fortress are nearly hid by the trees that have shot up in every part. The gun-carriages are in a very rotten state, and the garrison consists of about twenty half-naked soldiers.

There is a church within the fortress; here, as a substitute for a bell, is suspended at the door, part of a broken crowbar; and at the entrance of the commandant's apartments, is the stocks, (for the punishment of the soldiers,) which, from their greasy, polished appearance, I have reason to believe are kept in constant use. There are three forts for the protection of the bay, of which this is the principal; one on a high point on the island of St. Catharines, and another on the island where our boat landed after up-setting, called Great Rat Island. About one and a half league below the chief fortress, on the starboard hand going into the bay, behind a rocky point, are the houses for the accommodation of those employed in the whale fishery, as well as the stores, boilers, and tanks to contain the oil. The crown has the exclusive privilege of fishing here. About five hundred men are engaged in it. Nearly the same number of whales are taken annually in the bay, where they come to calve, and are then perfectly helpless. None but small boats are engaged in taking them. The oil is deposited in an immense tank, formed for the purpose in a rock, and is from thence transported to Portugal and elsewhere.

To this place, after the return of Mr. Shaw from town, I

went to endeavour to procure a quantity of jerked beef for the use of the crew, having heard of the arrival of a vessel with a cargo. On my way I met a small vessel four days from Rio Janeiro, and went on board to learn the news. The captain informed me, that two days before he sailed, an American corvette, mounting eleven guns of a side, had arrived there, a prize to the Montague; she had been in company with a large frigate, and was captured off the Albrothas shoal: the Montague was left in pursuit of the frigate. He also informed me, that the day before he sailed, a British frigate and two brigs of war had arrived from England; that two American schooners had been captured and sent in there; that a Portuguese brig of war had arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, and brought intelligence that a British sixty gun ship was to sail the day after her for Rio Janeiro, and that several ships of war were daily expected from England. He stated, also, that news had been brought that the Americans had captured a convoy of Indiamen; and that a packet had been taken by them, from Rio, with a great deal of specie on board.

Feeling confident that the captured vessel was the *Hornet*, and having strong apprehensions of being blockaded, if not attacked by a superior force, in this port, knowing the little respect the British have for the Portuguese, I determined on getting to sea again with all possible expedition. I therefore returned to the ship, made a signal for every person to repair on board, hove up, and dropped down below the fort, where I anchored, to give the officers an opportunity of getting the clothes on board, which were all on shore to wash. At eight o'clock at night, on the 25th, got under way with the loss of one anchor, (the cable parted,) and proceeded for sea, leaving on shore Joseph Hawley and Allan Jones, who absented themselves from the boat. Previous to my departure, I gave permission for five of my prisoners to proceed to Rio Janeiro, in a small Portuguese schooner belonging to the king, that was to sail next day, to wit: captain Charles Helt, John Haywood, mate; John Martin, Jonas Walker, and Thos. Waiiley, seamen. During the night, Edward Sweeny departed this life, and Samuel Gross unfortunately fell from the main-yard, while loosening the mainsail, and in a few hours ended his existence. His loss was much regretted



by us all, as he was one of the best men we had in the ship, and highly esteemed by every one on board.

We were clear of all the islands about four o'clock on the morning of the 26th. It was then necessary to decide promptly on my future proceedings, as our provisions were getting short. I called on the purser for a report, and found that we had but three months' bread at half allowance. There was no port on this coast where we could procure a supply, without the certainty of capture, or blockade, (which I considered as bad;) to attempt to return to the United States, at a season of the year when our coast would be swarming with the enemy's cruisers, would be running too much risk, and would be going diametrically opposite to my instructions. I was perfectly at a loss now where to find the commodore, as, in remaining before Bahia, he had departed from his original intentions, and had already disappointed me at three rendezvous. The state of my provisions would not admit of going off St. Helena's to intercept the returning Indiamen, nor would my force justify the proceeding. To remain, however, longer here, where I could get no supplies, would be a folly, and it became absolutely necessary to depart from the letter of my instructions; I therefore determined to pursue that course which seemed to be best calculated to injure the enemy, and would enable me to prolong my cruise. This could only be done by going into a friendly port, where I could increase my supplies without the danger of blockade, and the first place that presented itself to my mind, was the port of Conception, on the coast of Chili. The season, to be sure, was far advanced for doubling Cape Horn; our stock of provisions was short, and the ship in other respects not well supplied with stores for so long a cruise; but there appeared no other choice left for me, except capture, starvation, or blockade; and this course, of all others, appeared to me the most justifiable, as it accorded with the views of the honourable secretary of the navy, as well as those of my immediate commander. Before the declaration of war, I wrote a letter to the former, containing a plan for annoying the enemy's commerce in the Pacific ocean, which was approved of by him; and prior to my sailing, commodore Bainbridge requested my opinion, as to the best mode of attaining that object. I

laid before him the same plan, in which he concurred, provided we could obtain the necessary supplies of provisions.

My stock of provisions, agreeably to the purser's report, was as follows: 184 barrels of beef, 114 barrels of pork, 21,763 pounds of bread, 1741 gallons of spirits, 201 gallons of vinegar, 108 gallons of molasses, and 10 boxes of spermaceti and 17 of tallow candles; which on two thirds allowance of beef, and half allowance of bread, other articles in the same proportion as the beef, were sufficient to serve us as follows:

Beef,	36 weeks and 5 days
Pork,	22 do. 5 do.
Bread,	22 do. 1 do.
Spirits,	13 do. 2 do.
Vinegar,	6 do. 4 do.
Molasses,	7 do. 5 do.

I estimated that it would not take me more than two months and a half to get round to Conception, where I was confident of procuring an abundant supply of jerked beef, fish, flour, and wine. I calculated, that the prizes we should make in the Pacific, would supply us with such articles of naval stores as we should require; and although there was considerable responsibility attached to the proceeding, and the undertaking was greater than had yet been engaged in by any single ship on similar pursuits, time did not admit of delay. Immediately on getting to sea, I directed my course to the southward.

The intelligence given me by the captain of the Portuguese vessel, was such as I could place the utmost confidence in; for his description of the captured vessel answered exactly to that of the Hornet. He stated to me, that she had been cruising off Bahia, in company with a very large frigate, to intercept a British sloop of war at that place; but that she had separated from the frigate, and was bound to the southward, when she was captured off the Albrothas shoal. He further stated, that the American frigate had sunk a British frigate, after a desperate engagement, in which the British vessel had lost her masts.

Before I proceed farther, however, it is necessary that I should say something of St. Catharines.

This island has been settled by the Portuguese about seven-

ty years. The town, which appears to be in rather a thriving state, is situated on that point of the island nearest the continent, and may contain about 10,000 inhabitants; here the captain-general resides. It appears to be a place of considerable business: several brigs and schooners were lying before the town, and the stores were numerous, and well supplied with dry goods, which were sold cheap. The town is pleasantly situated; the bay before it apparently commodious; and the people industrious. It is defended by two small forts, one opposite the middle of the town on a small island, joined to it by a causeway; the other on a point projecting towards the continent. The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town is in a state of considerable improvement. But nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catharines and the continent. There is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around, shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summit with trees which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it, in appearance, the most delightful country in the world. We arrived, unfortunately, in the worst season for fruit; there were no oranges to be had now; but in the proper season for them, I was informed, they were to be had in the greatest abundance, and for a mere trifle.

The people of this place appear to be the most happy of those who live under the Portuguese government, probably because the more they are distant from it, the less they are subject to its impositions and oppressions; still, however, they complain. There are two regiments of troops at St. Catharines: if provisions are wanted for them, an officer goes to the houses of the peasantry, seizes on their cattle or grain, and gives them a bill on the government, for which they never receive payment.

The peasantry are well clad, and comfortable and cheerful in their appearance; the women are handsome and graceful in their manners; the men have the character of being extremely jealous of them, and I believe they have some reason to be so.



Being desirous of determining the latitude and longitude of St. Catharines from observation, and the old fortress on the high point of that island being the best situation, I communicated to Sabine my wishes of sending Mr. Adams there for the purpose of taking the necessary distances and altitudes, and requested him to write a line to the commander of the fort, explaining our object, which was done; but this officer, supposing he had come with some other views, or not wishing to accommodate us, refused him the permission requested; he, however, was enabled to effect his object on the beach, and the result was as follows:

Our anchorage, latitude  $27^{\circ} 26' 10''$  south; longitude  $43^{\circ} 2' 20''$  west.

The fort at Ponite Groce, latitude  $27^{\circ} 24' 46''$  south; longitude  $47^{\circ} 55' 30''$  west.

The northeast point of St. Catharines, Ponte de Bottle, latitude  $27^{\circ} 46' 49''$  south; longitude  $47^{\circ} 42' 48''$  west.

Variation of the compass  $6^{\circ} 27'$  east.

On liberating captain Helt, and the men accompanying him, I caused them to sign an obligation not to serve against the United States during the existing war, unless regularly exchanged. I gave to captain Helt a letter for the British admiral at Rio Janeiro, and another for the American minister, which he promised, on oath, to deliver.

To Sabine I gave a letter, to be delivered to the commander of any American frigate that should put in to St. Catharines; he gave me assurances that it should be delivered: the letter ran as follows:

Your letter of the 3d December has been received. Yeo has been punctual. I have taken but two vessels. It is much to be regretted that we have not yet met. I have just heard of the capture of the Hornet. Should we not meet by the 1st of April, be assured that, by pursuing *my own course*, I shall have been actuated by views to the good of the service, and that there will have been an absolute necessity for my doing so.

As an American, I have been treated well here; I am afraid to trust more to this letter.

January 20th, 1813.

St. Catharines has been the usual stopping place for all American vessels engaged in the southern whale fishery, on their return to the United States ; four fishing vessels had left it for America about one month before I arrived ; and there received the first intelligence of the war.

Vessels should always moor here, as the irregularity of the currents will otherwise soon occasion them to foul their anchors. The tide enters to the north and south, and rises about four and a half feet. The usual anchorage for large vessels is about the spot occupied by us ; vessels drawing not more than sixteen feet water, can go up to the town.

## CHAPTER III.

## PASSAGE FROM ST. CATHARINES AROUND CAPE HORN ; ARRIVAL AT THE ISLAND OF MOCHA.

THE whole of the 26th, we had fresh gales from the southward, which I took advantage of to get a good offing. Saw a small Portuguese schooner, bound to the N. E., but did not speak her. On the 27th, the wind shifted to the E. ; but on account of a heavy head sea, we were not able to make much sail until towards the afternoon, when we had all our light sails out, steering S. S. W., the weather remarkably fine, and our rate from eight to nine miles per hour.

An alarming disease now made its appearance among the crew ; ten or fifteen of them were suddenly attacked by violent pains in the stomach and cholera morbus. The surgeons were first of opinion, that it proceeded from the bad rum procured at St. Catharines, under the impression that it was strongly impregnated with lead, the disease having every symptom of that known under the name of the painter's cholic. Their speedy recovery, however, soon removed this opinion, and caused us to attribute it to the proper cause, the too sudden change from salt provisions to fresh, and overloading the stomach with unripe fruit and vegetables.

The weather continued fine, and the wind fair, until the 28th ; the colour of the water indicated soundings ; our course between S. by W. and S. S. W. ; time was too precious for us to heave too to sound. Our latitude on the meridian of this day,  $34^{\circ} 58' 09''$  south, longitude by chronometer  $51^{\circ} 11' 37''$  west ; variation of the compass  $12^{\circ} 49'$  east. At nine P. M. the wind began to haul around to the southward, and at midnight, after sharp lightning, fixed itself at S. by E., and freshened up so as to compel us to send down our royal yards, and double reef our topsails. The cold began now to be sensibly felt, and woollen clothing to be more esteemed than it had been for some time past ; the old jackets and trousers that had been lying about the ship, were carefully



collected, as some suspicions of my intention of doubling Cape Horn had got among the crew. Believing that we should have but little use for our light sails until we doubled the Cape, I caused the skysails, royal studdingsails, and such other sails as are only fit for tropical weather, to be unbent and put below.

In the course of our run, since leaving St. Catharines, we have frequently discovered those yellow tracks in the ocean, extending several leagues, and called by seamen the sperm of whales; but whether they attribute it to the proper cause, I cannot say. I am informed, however, that whales have been known to disgorge large quantities of a yellow substance, which floats on the surface of the water; and I think it not unlikely that it may be this we so often met with. To me it had the appearance of dirty oil; and the water did not appear coloured more than two or three feet deep. All the tracks we met with were in a line with the coast, as far as the sight could reach; and from this circumstance, if I had not been well assured that they were caused by whales, I should have believed that they had been produced by a scum, brought from the coast by currents. Our distance, however, and their extreme regularity, would serve, in some measure, to destroy this belief; besides, it does not seem likely that one tide would produce more than one of those appearances; whereas, we frequently met three, and sometimes more, only a mile or two distant, in lines parallel to each other. They seldom were more than the width of the ship, and have much the appearance of shoals at first sight.

From the 28th January until the 3d February the weather was very unsettled. During that time we had repeated calms and heavy blows from every part of the compass, and frequently accompanied with rain. Indeed, the eclipse of the sun, which took place on the 1st, gave us reason to expect unsettled weather; and I had taken measures to prepare the ship to meet the worst, by sending down our royal-masts and rigging, unreaving all our running rigging not absolutely necessary, sending every heavy article out of the tops, as well as all the light sails, such as royals, stay-sails, topgallant-studding-sails, &c., and diminishing in every other respect the weight aloft. I also caused all the shot to be put below except six to each gun, on the

gun-deck ; removed the guns from the extremities to midships ; set up the main rigging ; and bent the storm-stay-sails.

As we had lost an anchor at St. Catharines, from the badness of our cables, I directed a strict examination into the state of the two bowers and sheet-cables ; and, on a careful survey, one half of both bowers was found not trustworthy. I, therefore, directed them to be cut, which left about sixty fathoms of each cable ; and, with a view of removing the difficulty that would be occasioned by their being too short, in the event of mooring, I directed the larboard bower to be spliced to the end of the sheet-cable, and kept the other end ready for bending on to the sheet-anchor. This arrangement enabled us to let go three anchors, in case of necessity.

To guard against future wants, it now became necessary to economise in every thing that related to the ship's stores. I therefore gave directions, that nothing whatever, of the most trifling nature, should be issued from the store-rooms without my orders ; and as the weather began to get cool, and the wind-sails unnecessary for the comfort of the crew, I directed them to be scrubbed and put below. I also discontinued fumigating with vinegar ; believing that it would be more conducive to health to issue it, and let it be used as part of the ration. And with a view of guarding still farther against that dreadful scourge, the scurvy, I gave the strictest orders to the cook, not to permit any person to use the slush from the cask, for the purpose of frying their bread, &c., as this practice is very common among seamen ; and on board of many ships, but particularly captain Vancouver's, the disease has been traced to this cause. We have now been three months from the United States ; in the course of which time, we have been but seven days in port. Our crew, of course, has benefited but little from fresh provisions and vegetables, or breathing the air from the land ; yet we have not had the slightest symptom of scurvy on board. To be sure, the fruit they brought with them from Praya, and the onions from St. Catharines, were powerful antiscorbutics, and served to correct the effect of salt provisions ; yet, with a more abundant supply of such articles, ships have frequently been afflicted with this disease, after being a less time at

sea than the Essex. Our crew had now perfectly recovered from the dysentery, with which they were attacked after leaving St. Catharines; and we had but one man on board seriously ill; a marine, afflicted by a pulmonary complaint. Indeed, the extraordinary health of the crew surprises me, (considering the privations they have suffered since the cruise commenced,) and I can only attribute it to the steady attention to their cleanliness and comfort, and to their cheerful disposition. No doubt the good provisions and the excellent water we have been blessed with, have tended greatly to promote it.

The albatrosses, and other birds, that frequent high latitudes, now began to assemble around us, but in small numbers; many attempts were made to catch them, but they all failed. We also saw two whales. The colour of the water continued to indicate soundings; but we could not reach the bottom with one hundred and sixty fathoms line; rock-weed was also seen.

On the morning of the 3d the weather appeared more settled; the sun rose clear; a breeze sprung up from the northwest, and had every appearance of continuing. All sail was set to the best advantage; and we steered, by compass, S. S. W. half W. By meridian our rate was increased to nine knots per hour. I flattered myself with the expectation of a speedy and pleasant run to the Straights of le Maire. Our latitude was  $42^{\circ} 14' 30''$  south; longitude,  $59^{\circ} 9' 51''$  west; and the variation of the compass  $14^{\circ} 52'$  east. With a view of relieving the anxiety of my crew, I addressed to them a note, which produced the happiest effect, as it diffused a general joy throughout the ship, and served to convince me, that although the time of many of my best men was near expiring, I had nothing to apprehend from their disaffection.

I now made inquiries into the state of the purser's slops, and found, to my regret, that we had but a small number of shoes. As every man in the ship was in want of a pair, I determined not to issue any until we arrived in a more southern latitude, that I might be enabled to judge who were most in want; I directed, however, one pair of woollen stockings to be issued to such as required them.

At about 2 P. M., to our great regret, the wind hauled around to the S. W., and there remained, and served as an



additional lesson to us, how little dependence is to be placed in the appearance of the weather in this latitude.

The whole of the 4th the wind continued between S. W. and W. by S., with fresh gales; and from this time until the 10th, the wind was variable, blowing fresh from every point of the compass, but prevailing most from the S. W.; occasionally blowing so hard, as to reduce us to our storm-staysail, attended generally with a very disagreeable cross sea. In the course of this interval, little occurred worth notice on board, except the bursting of the rudder coat, which occasioned our shipping a great deal of water in the wardroom. And, as I saw no possibility of securing it at sea, this determined me to make the first convenient port for the purpose of repairing the damage. In every other respect, we had got the ship prepared to meet the bad weather we had reason to expect in doubling Cape Horn; and, with a view of keeping her from straining as much as possible, I got all our spare spars from the spar to the gun-deck, and struck down two long twelve pounders from the forecastle.

In the heaviest blows and worst sea we have yet had, I find the ship to be remarkably easy and comfortable.

We generally kept on the edge of soundings, in from sixty to seventy-five fathoms of water; and, although the frequent ripples indicated strong currents, they did not make any sensible difference in our run, except on the 8th and 9th, in latitude  $47^{\circ} 36'$  south, when we were set twenty-four miles to the westward. When on soundings, we frequently met masses of a weed, called kelp, of sufficient buoyancy to bear the albatrosses, and other birds which kept about them; but we never met with them off soundings. We saw a few whales, but none approached us nearer than a mile.

The northerly winds have much the character of the southwest winds on the coast of North America, and are generally accompanied with hazy weather. The southwest winds are clear and cold, and bear no slight resemblance to the northwest winds of the same coast. The appearance of albatrosses and other birds generally preceded a southerly wind, but few were to be seen when the winds came from the northward. No certain guide, however, can be given in this changeable climate, to enable you to judge correctly of winds and weather; the finest appearances were

frequently the immediate precursors of a fresh gale and unpleasant weather, which was as unexpectedly succeeded by calms and sunshine.

On the morning of the 11th, the weather was remarkably fine, the air clear and serene, the sea smooth, and the wind fair, with every appearance of a continuation. Our latitude  $51^{\circ} 13'$  south; longitude  $63^{\circ} 53'$  west; and depth of water seventy-four fathoms, fine grey sand. I embraced the opportunity offered by the weather for repairing our rudder-coat, and succeeded perfectly. Having no cause to go into port, I now determined to make the best of my way round Cape Horn, and, apprehensive of some difficulties in going through the Straights of Le Maire, I decided to go to the eastward of Staten Land. The latter part of the day, the wind hauled round from the northward, and the weather became extremely hazy, which I regretted extremely, as it prevented our getting an observation. The breeze was, however, very fine and increasing; I therefore felt confident of a short run to Staten Land, and steered away more to the eastward; we had studding-sails set on both sides, and our rate of sailing from seven to nine miles per hour.

On the 13th, the wind continued to increase, and the weather became still more hazy, with rain. At meridian, I calculated that Cape St. John's, the eastern part of Staten Land, bore south, half west, distant thirty-five miles; and although the thickness of the weather prevented our seeing more than a mile ahead, a confidence of being able to see the land in sufficient time to haul off to clear it, induced me to continue my run. At four o'clock, the appearance of a strong current, which was indicated by a violent ripple, and seeing an unusual quantity of kelp, some of which, as though it had been dead and drying on the beach for some time, together with considerable flocks of birds, much resembling geese, induced me to believe that I must be very near the shore. I therefore caused a good lookout to be kept, took in top-gallant-sails, double-reefed the topsails, furled the mainsail, and had every thing prepared, in case it should be necessary, to haul our wind; and at half past six had cause to rejoice that I had taken such precautions, as breakers were discovered, bearing E. S. E. and S. E., distant about three fourths of a mile, and in a few minutes afterwards, the land appeared in the same direction; we

consequently hauled on a wind to the eastward, and sounded in forty-five fathoms water. We had now approached so close to the breakers, with the hope of weathering them, that we had not room to wear; there was a tremendous sea running, the ship driving fore-castle under; no chance of weathering the land, which could now be seen ahead, bearing E. by N., running out in small lumps, and surrounded with dreadful breakers. Our only hope of safety was in getting the ship in stays; the mainsail was set with the utmost expedition, and we were so fortunate as to succeed: after getting the ship about, the jib and spanker were set, and the top-gallant-yards sent down; but, in a few moments, the jib was blown to pieces. My first impression was, that we had been set by the currents to the westward, into the bay formed by Cape St. Vincent and the coast of Terra del Fuego: and, as the gale was increasing, and night fast approaching, the thick weather continuing, the wind directly on shore, with a tremendous sea, I saw no prospect of saving the ship, but by carrying a heavy press of sail to keep off the lee shore until the wind changed. We kept the lead constantly going, and found our soundings very regular at forty-five fathoms, rocky and coral bottom. After standing to the W. N. W. about an hour, the water began to grow very smooth, which could only be occasioned by a sudden change of the current; and whales appeared along side the ship. This gave me hopes of being to the eastward of St. Vincent, and in the Straights of Le Maire; a sharp lookout was kept for the land, and at half past seven, to our unspeakable joy, the land was discovered ahead, and on both bows, distant about a mile. No doubts now remained as to our being in the straits. I therefore directed the helm to be put a-weather, and made all sail to the southward, keeping the coast of Terra del Fuego close a-board; and as we undoubtedly had the first of the tide, we were swept through with great rapidity, and at nine o'clock were clear of the straits.

The extreme haziness of the weather prevented my making many observations on the appearance of the land; it, however, had not that dreary aspect I was prepared to expect. The hills appeared clothed with verdure, and the coast seemed indented with deep bays, which, from the accounts of former navigators, I have no doubt, are well cal-



culated to afford shelter to vessels navigating those seas, and engaged in the whale fishery. Indeed, it was the source of much regret to me, and to all on board, that the state of the weather prevented our having a better view of a coast that has excited so much the attention of mankind, from the description given by the most celebrated navigators. Had circumstances permitted, I should have anchored in the bay of Good Success, so minutely described by captain Cook.

The land we first made and attempted to weather, was Cape San Diego, on the coast of Staten Land, and the appearance was dreary beyond description. Perhaps, however, the critical situation of the ship, the foaming of the breakers, the violence of the wind, and the extreme haziness of the weather, may, all combined, have served to render the appearance more dreadful. But from the impression made by its appearance then, and from the description given by others, I am induced to believe, that no part of the world presents a more horrible aspect than Staten Land. The breakers appeared to lie about half a mile from the shore; while we were standing off, the whole sea, from the violence of the current, appeared in a foam of breakers, and nothing but the apprehension of immediate destruction could have induced me to venture through it. But, thanks to the excellent qualities of the ship, we received no material injury; although we were pitching our fore-castle under with a heavy press of sail, and the violence of the sea was such, that it was impossible for any man to stand without grasping something to support himself. Our making the breakers in the manner we did proved most fortunate; for had we passed through the streights without discovering the land, (which would have been the case had we been one mile farther north,) I should have supposed myself to the east of Staten Land; and after running the distance which I believed necessary to clear Cape St. John's, have steered a course that would have entangled us in the night with the rocks and breakers about Cape Horn. Had this happened, thick and hazy as the weather continued, our destruction would have been inevitable, as we could not have seen the danger one hundred yards from the ship, had we even been apprehensive and on the lookout for it, which would not have been the case.

As I before remarked, the soundings between Cape San Diego and Terra del Fuego were regular, as to depth, but the bottom differed in a slight degree. The first cast of the lead near San Diego, we had small pieces of rock, and red and white coral; when at the distance of two or three miles, we had small red and white coral, in its appearance as if it had been some time detached from the rocks; but, when mid-channel, small round pieces of clear red and white coral, bearing the appearance of pebbles, and evidently owing their form to the violent friction occasioned by the rapid current of the streights. There was not the slightest mixture of sand, or any other matter, with them; every piece was about the size of a small pea, and, with the exception of colour, as uniform in their appearance; they were different from any soundings I had heretofore met with, and I doubt if such are to be found in any other part of the world.

As I before observed, some of my guns were put below, the spars taken from the upper and put on the gun-deck, and the weight considerably reduced aloft. Added to these measures, the best sails were bent, preventer-shrouds got up to secure the masts, and every other means adopted that prudence could suggest, or our ingenuity invent, to render our passage as free from disaster as possible. We were entering the bourn of all our dread with a pleasant breeze from the northward and a smooth sea, felicitating ourselves on our fortunate and pleasant passage through the streights, and our prospects of a safe and speedy one around the Cape. It was in my power to have steered a direct course for Cape Horn; but the weather continuing remarkably hazy, I thought it most prudent to keep aloof from the land, and steered more to the southward until the morning; when there appearing a prospect of a change of weather, I changed my course for the island of Diego Ramirez, which is to the southward and westward of the Cape.

On the meridian of the 14th, the horizon was somewhat clear; the wind moderate from the westward; the sun shining out bright; and, with the exception of some dark and lowering clouds to the northward, we had every prospect of pleasant weather. The Cape was now in sight, bearing north, and Diego Ramirez bearing northwest; and the black clouds before mentioned, served well to give ad-

ditional horror to their dreary and inhospitable aspect. But so different was the temperature of the air, the appearance of the heavens, and the smoothness of the sea, to every thing we had expected, and pictured to ourselves, that we could not but smile at our own credulity and folly, in giving credit to (what we supposed) the exaggerated and miraculous accounts of former voyages; and even when we admitted, for a moment, the correctness of their statements, we could not help attributing their disasters and misfortunes chiefly to their own imprudencies and mismanagement. As we had endeavoured to guard against every accident that we had to apprehend, we flattered ourselves with the belief, that fortune would be more favourable to our enterprize than she had been to theirs. But, while we were indulging ourselves in these pleasing speculations, the black clouds, hanging over Cape Horn, burst upon us with a fury we little expected, and reduced us in a few minutes to a reefed foresail, and close-reefed main-topsail, and in a few hours afterwards to our storm-staysails. Nor was the violence of the winds the only danger we had to encounter; for it produced an irregular and dangerous sea, that threatened to jerk away our masts at every roll of the ship. With this wind we steered to the southward, with a view of getting an offing from the land, in expectation of avoiding, in future, the sudden gusts, and the irregular seas, which we supposed were owing to violent currents, and confined to the neighbourhood of the coast. But in this expectation we were much disappointed; for, as we receded from the coast, the gale increased; and it was in vain that we hoped for that moderate and pleasant weather which former navigators have generally experienced in the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$  south, which we reached on the 18th. From the time we lost sight of the land until this period, the gales blew hard from the northwest, accompanied with heavy rains, cold disagreeable weather, and a dangerous sea. We were never enabled to carry more sail than a close-reefed main-topsail and reefed foresail, and were frequently under our storm-staysails. But by keeping the ship a point free, she made but little lee-way, went fast through the water, and gave us considerable westing, though we were carrying a heavy press of sail, and were frequently deluged with the sea that broke into us. We,



however, escaped any injury of importance, except the loss of our spritsail-yard, which was carried away by a heavy sea, that filled the fore-topmast staysail, and carried away the bees of the bowsprit. On the 18th, as I before observed, we were in the latitude of  $60^{\circ} 7'$  south, and longitude of  $76^{\circ} 20'$  west; and this I considered sufficiently to the westward, to enable us, on a change of wind, which we anxiously looked for, to weather the coast of Terra del Fuego. The movement of every passing cloud was anxiously watched, every appearance of the heavens carefully noted, and our chief employment was comparing the weather we had experienced, and present appearances, with the accounts of those who had preceded us.

The eclipse of the moon, on the 14th, had prepared us to meet with bad weather; and we felt much gratified to believe it all over, the weather having now become somewhat moderate. As we were as far to the west as Cook on his first voyage, and nearly as far as La Perouse, when they stood to the northward; and as we had run this distance from the Streights of Le Maire, in as short a time as it had ever been done by any ship, we were willing to believe ourselves the favourite children of fortune; for the weather we had yet met had not been so severe as some we had encountered on the coast of North America, during our last cruise, and fell far short of the descriptions given by the author of lord Anson's voyage. On the afternoon of the 18th, a gale came on from the westward, which, for its violence, equalled any described by that historian. But, as my experience had already taught me, that moderate weather was not to be expected in this part of the world, at this season of the year, I determined to carry all the sail in my power, to endeavour to get to the northward as fast as possible; and with much difficulty, and great risk of splitting the sail, succeeded in getting the close-reefed main-topsail set. With this, and the fore, main, and mizzen storm-staysails we were enabled to force the ship about two knots, through a tremendous head-sea, which threatened every moment destruction to our bowsprit and masts. The gale, however, increasing, we were soon reduced to the main storm-staysail, and from that to bare poles. About 12 o'clock, the wind hauled around to the southwest, and blew in dreadful squalls, accompanied with

hail; and as this enabled us to steer northwest, and (allowing for the drift and variation) make a north course good, which I believed would take us clear of the west point of Terra del Fuego, I got all the yards well secured, by preventer-braces; and, by watching a favourable opportunity, set the close-reefed fore and main topsails, and reefed foresail. The squalls came at intervals of from fifteen to twenty minutes, with so little warning, and with such tremendous blasts, that it was impossible to shorten sail; for to have started the sheets, after they had struck the ship, would have been attended with the certain loss of the sail. I therefore saw no alternative, but running before the wind while they lasted, and as soon as they were over, which was generally in two or three minutes, hauled again by the wind. Thus, by the utmost attention and care, we were enabled to get along, at the rate of between five and six miles per hour; and on the 21st, found ourselves, by estimation, in the latitude of  $57^{\circ} 30'$  south, and the longitude of  $77^{\circ}$  west. We had now fair prospects of soon getting around. I had made large allowances for drift and leeway; and believed ourselves as far to the west as our reckoning gave us, which I considered fully sufficient to take us clear of all land, if the westerly winds should prevail. And having now no doubt of succeeding speedily in my passage to a friendly port, where we could get supplies, I, to the great joy of all on board, ordered the allowance of bread to be increased to two thirds.

Although we deemed ourselves more fortunate than other navigators had been, in getting around Cape Horn, (for we considered our passage now as certain, with a tolerable slant of wind,) yet we had not been without our share of hardships. The weather had for some days been piercing cold; this, with the almost constant rains and hails, and the water shipped from the heavy seas, and from leaks, kept the vessel very uncomfortable, and the clothes of the officers and crew very uncomfortably wet. The extremities of those who had formerly been affected by the frost, became excessively troublesome to them, so much so as to prevent some from doing their duty; from this cause I myself was a considerable sufferer. Many, also, felt severely the great want of shoes, and the necessary quantity of woollen clothing. Their allowance of

provisions was barely sufficient to satisfy the cravings of nature; and as to refreshments of any kind, they were entirely out of the question, our scanty supply obtained at St. Catharines having been long consumed. The fatigues of the officers and crew (although I endeavoured to alleviate them as much as possible, by only keeping the watch on deck) were very considerable; for deceitful intervals of moderate weather would for a moment encourage us to make sail; when, in a few minutes afterwards, blasts, accompanied with rain and hail, would threaten destruction to our sails and spars; and as our necessities, and the state of the ship, made it requisite that we should endeavour to make our passage as short as possible, by taking advantage of every favourable opportunity of getting along, we were constantly harassed by making and taking in sail. To be sure we had not much to take in, but what we had were heavy, and required all hands to manage them. It had been some time since we had laid aside all our small sails; such as top-gallant-sails, studding-sails, stay-sails, &c.; the constant gales we had experienced, and having no expectation of better weather, had induced me to have them all unbent, and stowed away below; as also to get from aloft all the booms and rigging. Indeed, our topsails, courses, and storm-staysails, were the only sails that we were at any time enabled to use; and it was rarely that they could be set without being reefed. After this reduction of weight from aloft, we found the ship to strain less; for, although in her form was combined all the qualities necessary to constitute what seamen call, a good sea-boat; yet, we found she was not proof against the effect of the violent and dangerous winds, for which this sea is so justly noted. Her water-ways began to grow more open, and her upper works to work considerably; and had she not those qualities above mentioned, in a remarkable degree, it is likely we should not have escaped some serious disaster, or at least without the loss of some of our masts or bowsprit, which, from violent rolling and pitching, were frequently endangered.

However, with great industry, much care, and extraordinary good fortune, we had succeeded in getting, as I before observed, by our reckoning, as far to the westward as 77° west longitude; and this, too, we had effected by con-



stant struggles against strong westerly gales, in a shorter time, perhaps, than it ever before was accomplished; and we now saw a speedy end to all our sufferings and anxieties, and tasted, in pleasing anticipation, our delightful cruise in the Pacific. It is true, we had had no opportunity of verifying our dead reckoning by lunar observations; nor could we place any reliance on the chronometer, as the cold had greatly changed her rate of going, which was first made evident to us on our making Staten Land; yet we felt great confidence, notwithstanding, that our dead reckoning was not so far wrong as to make it at all probable that we were not sufficiently to the west of Terra del Fuego, for a north course to take us clear of it. On the 21st the wind shifted to the northwest, with which we stood to the southward and westward, and made, during the twenty-four hours, upwards of two degrees of longitude; and, on the meridian of the 22d, we were in latitude  $57^{\circ} 54'$  south, and longitude, by account,  $79^{\circ} 28'$  west; which is upwards of four degrees to the west of the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego. Now, no doubt remained of our having made sufficient westing; and as the wind hauled to the W. N. W., I stood to the northward: but an opportunity presenting itself for taking a lunar observation, we, to our great disappointment and regret, discovered that we were only in the longitude of  $75^{\circ} 20'$  west, which is about the longitude of Cape Pilor, the westernmost part of Terra del Fuego. It therefore became necessary to stand again to the southwest, and endeavour to make sufficient westing to guard against a future disappointment of this nature. We had felt apprehensive of a current setting constantly to the eastward, but did not believe that it could in two days have taken us four degrees to the eastward of our reckoning. But great and mortifying as this discovery was to us, it was not to be overcome but by renewed efforts and fortitude; and as the wind hauled round to the northward, it gave us a prospect of soon recovering our lost ground. I therefore permitted the crew to continue to draw their increased allowance of bread, as I did not wish them to feel the extent of my disappointment; which, perhaps, would have been attended with a depression of their spirits; and might have produced that dreadful disease, the scurvy, from which we have been hitherto exempt in a most extraordi-

nary degree, not the least symptom yet appearing on board. The crew, notwithstanding their constant labour, fatigue, and privations, have enjoyed most extraordinary spirits. They continued their usual diversions during the gales; laboured with cheerfulness when labour was requisite; not a murmur or complaint was heard; but all seemed determined to share with their officers every fatigue, and to exert themselves to the utmost to conquer every difficulty. To be sure we had not been long in those seas; but since we had left America, they have been deprived of almost every comfort of life; and so great was their desire now for fresh provisions that a rat was esteemed a dainty, and pet monkeys were sacrificed to appease their longings. Our provisions and water still continued good; the bread, to be sure, had been attacked by worms and weevils, but they had only in a slight degree altered its qualities; our peas and beans, however, had not escaped so well; for, as in this cold climate the allowance of water enabled us to spare enough to permit the boiling and use of them, I directed them to be served; but on opening the barrels that contained them, we found only a mass of chaff and worms. The rats, also, had found the way into our bread-rooms, and had occasioned a great consumption of that precious article. As to our water, none could be sweeter or purer; it had not undergone the slightest change. And the only fact I think it necessary to state in support of this assertion is, that a live mullet, nearly three quarters of an inch in length, was this day pumped from a cask filled with the water in the river Delaware: had this water undergone any corruption, the fish could not certainly have existed in it. This little fish I have put in a bottle of its native water, with a view of preserving it alive. From its size, I should suppose it to have been produced from the spawn while in the cask. The water taken in at St. Catharines, was found to be equally good; and my own experience now enables me to assure all navigators, that the only precaution necessary to have good water at sea is, to provide casks made of well seasoned staves, have them cleansed, and filled with pure water. Should it be necessary at any time (for the trim or safety of the ship, which is sometimes the case) to fill them with salt water, particular care must be taken that they be filled and well soaked, and cleansed

with fresh water before they are filled with the water intended for use. These particulars, as I have before observed, have never been neglected by me since I had the command of a vessel; and consequently no one on board has ever suffered from the use of bad water. This is an object that well merits the attention of every commander, when the chief comfort and the health of his crew are so much dependent thereon. For who has experienced, at sea, a greater enjoyment than a draught of pure water? Or who can say that the ship-fever and scurvy do not originate, frequently, in the stinking and disgusting water which seamen are too often driven to the necessity of drinking at sea, even when their stomachs revolt at it?

On the 24th, after experiencing a heavy gale from the northwest, I had the extreme satisfaction to find ourselves as far to the westward as  $80^{\circ}$ ; and as the wind shifted and blew from the southwest, I had no doubt of being able to effect our passage into the Pacific ocean. I consequently thought it advisable to increase the allowance of water, in order that the crew might be enabled to spare enough to afford them tea, morning and evening, as I was convinced it would conduce as much to their health as their comfort. When I communicated to them this arrangement, I took an opportunity of thanking them for their good conduct, during our boisterous and unpleasant passage around the Cape; encouraged them to a continuance of it, by holding out prospects of indulgence to those who should so distinguish themselves; and, as some thefts had been committed, for which the perpetrators were then under the punishment of wearing a yoke, I gave a general pardon, on condition that the first offender brought to the gang-way should receive three dozen lashes.

It was with no little joy, we now saw ourselves fairly in the Pacific ocean, and calculated on a speedy end to all our sufferings. We began also to form our projects for annoying the enemy, and had already equipped, in imagination, one of their vessels of fourteen or sixteen guns, and manned from the Essex, to cruise against their commerce; indeed, various were the schemes we formed at this time for injuring them, and we had already, in fancy, immense wealth to return with to our country. As the gale continued to blow from the southwest, every hour seemed to brighten



our prospects and give us fresh spirits; and on the last of February, being in the latitude of  $50^{\circ}$  south, the wind became moderate and shifted to the northward, the sea smooth, and every prospect of mild and pleasant weather. I consequently determined to replace the guns, and get the spars on the spar-deck; but before we had effected this, the wind had freshened up to a gale, and by noon had reduced us to our storm-staysail and close-reefed main-topsail. It hauled around to the westward, in the afternoon, and blew with a fury even exceeding any thing we had yet experienced, bringing with it such a tremendous sea, as to threaten us every moment with destruction. Our sails, our standing and running rigging, from the succession of bad weather, had become so damaged, as to be no longer trust-worthy; we took, however, the best means in our power to render every thing secure, and carried as heavy a press of sail as the ship would bear, to keep her from drifting on the coast of Patagonia, which we had reason to believe was not far distant, from the appearance of birds, kelp, and whales, which I have heretofore found to be a tolerably sure indication of a near approach to land, and from the clouds to leeward, which appeared as if arrested by the high mountains of the Andes. From the excessive violence with which the wind blew, we had strong hopes that it would be of short continuance; until, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, greatly alarmed with the terrors of a lee-shore, and in momentary expectation of the loss of our masts and bowsprit, we almost considered our situation hopeless. To add to our distress, our pumps had become choaked by the shingle ballast, which, from the violent rolling of the ship, had got into them; the ship made a great deal of water, and the sea had increased to such a height, as to threaten to swallow us at every instant; the whole ocean was one continued foam of breakers, and the heaviest squall that I ever before experienced, had not equalled in violence the most moderate intervals of this hurricane. We had done all that lay in our power to preserve the ship from the violence of the elements, and turned our attention to the pumps, (which we were enabled to clear,) and to keep the ship from drifting on shore, by getting on the most advantageous tack. We, however, were not enabled to wear but once, for the violence of the wind and sea was such, as afterwards to ren-

der it impossible to attempt it, without hazarding the destruction of the ship, and the loss of every life on board. The whole of the 1st and 2d of March, we anxiously hoped for a change, but in vain; our fatigues had been constant and excessive; many had been severely bruised by being thrown, by the violent jerks of the ship, down the hatchways, and I was particularly unfortunate, in receiving three severe falls, which at length disabled me from going on deck. The gale had already blown three days without abating; the ship had resisted its violence to the astonishment of all, without having received any considerable injury; and we began to hope, from her buoyancy, and other good qualities, we should be enabled to weather the gale. We had shipped several heavy seas, that would have proved destructive to almost any other ship; but, to us, they were attended with no other inconveniences, than the momentary alarm they excited, and that arising from the immense quantity of water, which forced its way into every part of the vessel, and kept every thing afloat between decks. However, about three o'clock of the morning of the 3d, the watch only being on deck, an enormous sea broke over the ship, and for an instant destroyed every hope. Our gun-deck ports were burst in; both boats on the quarters stove; our spare spars washed from the chains; our head-rails washed away, hammock-stanchions burst in, and the ship perfectly deluged and water-logged, immediately after this tremendous shock. The gale however soon after began to abate, and in the morning we were enabled to set our reefed foresail. In the height of the gale, Lewis Price, a marine, who had long been confined with a pulmonary complaint, departed this life, and was this morning committed to the deep; but the violence of the sea was such, that the crew could not be permitted to come on deck, to attend the ceremony of his burial, as their weight would have strained and endangered the safety of the ship.

When this last sea broke on board us, one of the prisoners, the boatswain of the Nocton, through excess of alarm, exclaimed, that the ship's broadside was stove in, and that she was sinking. This alarm was greatly calculated to increase the fears of those below, who, from the immense torrent of water that was rushing down the hatchways, had reason to believe the truth of his assertion. Many who were

washed from the spar to the gun-deck, and from their hammocks, and did not know the extent of the injury, were also greatly alarmed; but the men at the wheel, and some others, who were enabled by a strong grasp to keep their stations, distinguished themselves by their coolness and activity after the shock. I took this opportunity of advancing them one grade, by filling up the vacancies occasioned by those sent in prizes, and those who were left at St. Catharines; rebuking, at the same time, the others for their timidity.

And now we began to hope for better times, for the sky became serene, and we were enabled to make sail; the wind shifted to the S. W., and brought with it the only pleasant weather we had experienced since we passed the Falkland Islands. Here again we were deceived, for, before night it began to blow in heavy squalls, with cold rain, and reduced us to close-reefed fore and main topsails, and reefed foresail. But, as the wind was fair, we consoled ourselves with the pleasing reflection that we were every moment receding farther from the influence of the dreary and inhospitable climate of Cape Horn. On the 5th of the month, having passed the parallel of Chili, our sufferings appeared at an end, for we enjoyed pleasant and temperate weather, with fine breezes from the southward; and, for the first time during our passage, were enabled to knock out our dead-lights, and open our gun-deck ports. The repairs of our damages went on rapidly, and by night the ship was in every respect, excepting wear and tear, as well prepared for active service as the day we left St. Catharines. Our latitude at meridian was  $39^{\circ} 20'$  south; and we had a distant view of part of the Andes, which appeared covered with snow. Albatrosses were as usual about the ship; several fish, by sailors denominated sun-fish, were seen; and we frequently passed a white and apparently gelatinous substance, which we had not an opportunity of examining. There was every prospect of a speedy arrival in some port on the coast of Chili; and I directed the cables to be bent, using every means in our power to guard them from the effects of rocky bottom.

The health of the crew was better than when I left the United States, and not the slightest appearance of scurvy



in the ship. The surgeon's report of this day was as follows :

John Lingham,	seaman,	Contused hand
Adam Roach, quarter-gunner,		Contused wrist and arm
Thomas Charlton,	seaman,	Contused shoulder and foot
Thomas Milbourn,	do.	Debility from diarrhœa
Henry Kennedy	do.	Ulcer on the leg
Benjamin Hamilton,	do.	Venereal disease
Thomas Mitchell,	do.	Pain in the side
John H. Parsall,	do.	Do. do.
William Burton,	boy,	Pain in the bowels
Robert Scatterly,	seaman,	Sprained ankle
George Young,	do.	Rheumatism
Wm. M'Donald,	drummer,	do.

Total on the sick list, 12.

(Signed) ROBERT MILLER, *Surgeon*

We were all in high spirits, and in momentary expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's ships. It was my intention now to look into Mocha, a small uninhabited island on the coast of Chili, in the latitude of about  $38^{\circ} 15'$ , and about eight leagues distant from the coast. This place, I had understood, was a resort for the British vessels employed in smuggling, and in the whale fishery on the coast; and from thence I intended to proceed to St. Maria, another uninhabited island, about leagues farther north, also frequented by them. From those vessels I hoped to be enabled to procure such provisions and other supplies as we were in want of, and thereby render our going into Conception unnecessary, as I was desirous of doing the enemy as much injury as possible, without giving any alarm on the coast.

But, before I proceed farther, I shall take this opportunity of offering some hints to those who may succeed me in attempting the passage around Cape Horn. This I feel myself the more authorized to do, as we have effected it in, perhaps, a shorter time, with less damage, and labouring under more disadvantages, than any others who ever attempted it; and that too at an unfavourable season of the year, against a constant succession of obstinate and violent gales of wind. And I am the more strongly induced to

offer these hints, conceiving it to be of the utmost importance to give any information derived from experience, which may tend to enable navigators to overcome the obstacles which nature seems designedly to have placed, to deter mankind from all attempts to penetrate from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. As various opinions have been given on the subject, my advice may differ from that of others in several points: but as my measures have proved successful in the end, and as my opinion is not founded on mere conjecture and hypothesis, it is to be presumed that it may deserve the attention of seamen, for whom alone it is intended.

In the first place, I must caution them against those erroneous expectations, which the opinion of La Perouse is unhappily calculated to lead them into, and which, perhaps, have proved fatal to many ships, by inducing their commanders to believe that the passage round Cape Horn is attended with no other difficulties than those to be met with in any other high latitude; thereby causing them to neglect those necessary precautions, which the safety of their ships, and the lives of those on board, required. He says, to use his own words, "I doubled Cape Horn with much more ease than I had dared to imagine; I am now convinced that this navigation is like that of all high latitudes; the difficulties which are expected to be met with, are the effects of an old prejudice which should no longer exist, and which the reading of Anson's voyage has not a little contributed to preserve among seamen." On the 25th of January, La Perouse entered the Streights of Le Maire, and on the 9th of February, he was in the Pacific, in the parallel of the Streights of Magellan, making his passage in fourteen days. On the 13th of February, I passed the Streights of Le Maire, and was in the latitude of those of Magellan on the 26th, making a passage of thirteen days, a little more than a month later in the season than he passed the Cape; and as my passage, against such violent gales, was made in one day less than his, I am at a loss to conceive what should have occasioned his delay. I have the utmost respect for the memory of that celebrated navigator, and regret that I should have cause to differ with him in opinion in any point, particularly on one of so much importance, as the doubling of Cape Horn from the east.



Indeed, ample as has been the information he has given on every other subject that has come under his notice, I am almost induced to believe, that many of his observations on this matter have been suppressed by his editor; and that the remark is the effect of national prejudice, which ever has, and ever will exist. The passage round Cape Horn, from the eastward, I assert, from my own experience, is the most dangerous, most difficult, and attended with more hardships, than that of the same distance, in any other part of the world; and none should attempt it, without using every precaution to guard against accident, that prudence or foresight can suggest. And to this end, I would advise them, when they arrive in the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$  south, to prepare their ships for the tempestuous weather of Cape Horn; by securing their masts by preventer-shrouds; sending down all their light spars, studding-sail booms, &c.; unreaving their small rigging; unbending their light sails; and reducing, as much as possible, the weight, in order that they may be enabled to carry a heavy press of canvas. They should abandon all thoughts of using their light sails, until they arrive in the same latitude in the Pacific. Indeed, it would be adviseable to provide themselves with a set of small topsails and yards to suit them, as it will be rarely (if ever) they will be enabled to carry whole topsails, and seldom their courses. Their storm-staysails should be constantly bent; and if they have guns, no more of them should be kept on deck, than what would be necessary to keep the ship easy. From the latitude  $40^{\circ}$  south, in the Atlantic, to the Straights of Le Maire, the winds vary from northwest to southeast, by the west; in order, therefore, to take advantage of the slants which they offer, it is adviseable to keep about the edge of soundings, and run with the wind free on that tack which most favours the course; this will prevent the ship from making lee-way, and the certainty of a change will soon enable you to recover the direct track. By pursuing this plan, you will be enabled by the soundings to correct your reckoning, as they are marked on the charts with sufficient accuracy. Pass the Falkland Islands in about the longitude of  $65^{\circ}$  west; and, if the wind should enable you, by all means go through the Straights of Le Maire, which is a passage perfectly free from all danger. Should the winds be ahead, however, it



might then be adviseable to go to the east of Staten Land, in preference to attempting the streights, as the rapidity of the current might offer some embarrassments. On getting clear of the land, the prevalent winds are from the south-west and northwest by the west, and generally in violent blasts. Steer to the southward, with a flowing sail, and carry as much canvas as the ship will bear, until you get into the latitude of upwards of  $60^{\circ}$  south, when you will escape, in a great measure, the violence of the current that is forced by the prevailing winds along the coast of Terra del Fuego. On reaching the latitude of  $60^{\circ}$ , keep on that tack which most favours your course to the west, but always under a heavy press of canvas, and about one point free; and never heave to so long as you can carry sail, and keep head-way on the ship. Make an allowance for the current setting to the eastward eighteen miles in every twenty-four hours; and don't attempt to weather Terra del Fuego, until you are sure you have reached the longitude of  $81^{\circ}$  west from London; as strong westerly gales constantly prevail on the coast of Patagonia, which render it necessary to keep well to the westward, to avoid the difficulties and dangers of a lee-shore. These gales extend as far as the parallel of Baldivia, and render the dangers on that coast greater than those of Cape Horn, as they blow with equal violence, and are attended with a sea equally, if not more terrible; in addition to which, you have, under the lee, an inhospitable, iron-bound coast. When you have passed the latitude of  $40^{\circ}$  south, you may then venture (but cautiously) to use some of your light sails. I think, however, it would be a good rule not to use them until you arrive at Mocha, or St. Maria, where you may touch to refresh, after the fatigues of the passage, and rig and repair your ship; and that she will require repairs, is certain.

During your passage around the Cape, avoid harassing your crew unnecessarily; keep only the watch on deck, except when there is the most absolute necessity for all hands; and use every means in your power, that will contribute to their comfort; by this you will have fresh and healthy men, and in good spirits, to exert themselves in time of need; a circumstance greatly to be desired, where health and strength are so necessary for the preservation of the ship, and for

those exertions in making sail, that are at all times requisite to shorten the passage. It has been advised by some, to double the Cape in the dead of winter; others have recommended the month of December and January, as the most favourable. I can only speak of the month of February, and would advise them never to attempt it then. Indeed, our sufferings (short as has been our passage) have been so great, that I would advise those bound into the Pacific, never to attempt the passage of Cape Horn, if they can get there by any other route.

On the morning of the 6th, the Island of Mocha bore northwest by compass, about twenty miles distant, and we appeared about as far from the coast of Chili. Our soundings were then sixty fathoms, fine black and grey sand; the winds light, inclining to calms; and a small current setting to the north. I stood for the island, keeping the lead going; and found the depth to decrease regularly to within two and a half miles of the southeast part, where we had ten fathoms water, fine bluish sand. A sandy point makes out from this part of the island, on which stands an old tree, and off which are some breakers, which extend a quarter of a mile. This point I rounded, at the distance of one league, and had ten fathoms; the depth then soon increased to fifteen, when I hauled in for a remarkable gap, about the middle of the island, and anchored in twelve fathoms water, with black sandy bottom; the southeast point bearing E. S. E., and the north point, N. N. E. We were then about two miles from the shore.

## CHAPTER IV.

## MOCHA; ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO, AND DEPARTURE.

THE island of Mocha is high, and may be seen at a great distance. On the north part, the land gradually tapers to a long low point, off which lie some rocks, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. On the west side is a long, narrow, and, were it not for the height of the island, a dangerous reef, extending three leagues, on which, during a heavy swell, the water breaks with great violence. At the anchorage, a ship is sheltered from the westerly and southerly winds, but is exposed to those from the north and east; the latter, however, seldom blows with violence on the coast.

As soon as the ship anchored, the boats were got out, and myself and several of the officers went on shore. The sea was beating furiously against the beach and rocks that skirt the shore, and it was some time before we could find a landing place; at length, however, we found one a short distance to the north of an extensive sandy beach, in a small cove formed by the rocks, and protected from the sea by a small reef: here we found the water perfectly smooth. As we had been surrounded with seals and birds of different kinds as we ran in; and had seen, with our spyglasses, several hogs and horses on shore, I permitted the officers, and the most careful of the men, to take muskets with them, and in the course of a few hours, we had killed and got down to the boats, ten hogs, with some young pigs, which the seamen had run down, and were about embarking with them at dusk of the evening. But seeing a drove of horses coming along, and every one being anxious to fire, and feeling apprehensive of some accident, I directed them to conceal themselves behind the boats that were hauled on the beach, and not to fire until I had fired, intending to reserve my shot until they had got to a position where all could fire without the least danger of accident. I accordingly fired, and was succeeded by a volley; one horse was crippled, and the seamen ran forward with clubs to knock him down. They



already had hold of him, when a young officer, who had the misfortune of being very near-sighted, (and who had reserved his fire, not having seen the drove,) ran forward, and seeing, in the dark, the group of sailors about the animal, supposed it to be the horses, and fired. Unhappily, the ball passed through the breast of James Spafford, the gunner's mate, one of the best and most trusty men in my ship. It is impossible for me to express what were my feelings, when, with the utmost composure, the poor fellow, with a firm voice, said, "Sir, you have shot me! I am a dying man; take me to the boat." The distress of the officer on the occasion was beyond description. Doctor Hoffman was on shore, and gave us but little hopes of his life; as the ball had entered his right breast, and came out below his right shoulder, near the back-bone. A boat was immediately sent off to the ship with him, accompanied by doctor Hoffman and the officer who had so unfortunately been the cause of the disaster; and on my arrival, which was speedily after him, I found him still alive; but the chief surgeon, doctor Miller, could give me no reason to believe that he would recover. Had it not been for this dreadful accident, we should have been much delighted with our excursion on shore, as it had not only afforded us a pleasant recreation after our excessive fatigues at sea, but had enabled us to extend the benefits of it to the whole ship's company, as we had been so succesful as to procure a fresh mess for all hands. The horse-meat, however, was generally preferred to the hogs, it being much fatter, and more tender; the hogs proved tough, and had, besides, (to me,) an unpleasant flavour, though I heard no complaints among the sailors on that subject, as their stomachs were perhaps less delicate.

It was much to be regretted, that I had been so imprudently indulgent, as to permit so many to take muskets on shore, on many accounts; but more particularly on account of the accident which happened to poor Spafford. The constant firing, by bad marksmen, in every direction, not only greatly alarmed the horses and hogs, but made them very shy. This prevented the more skilful from having an opportunity of killing them; but many of the poor animals were wounded in different parts of the body, and made their escape with the blood streaming from their wounds; where-

as, expert marksmen would not have fired, until they were sure of shooting them through some vital part. I have no doubt, that in the few hours we were on shore, we were the cause of the death of at least a dozen horses, and double the number of hogs, that made their escape after being wounded; and from the great number of bones that are scattered in every direction of the island, I have reason to believe, that the same cruel warfare has been pursued by other navigators, who have touched there. The animals are so numerous, that one good marksman could more than supply a ship's company of three hundred men with fresh provisions, without making such cruel and unnecessary destruction among them, as I have too much reason to believe we caused; and it is greatly to be lamented, that visitors to this island should indulge themselves in such wanton cruelty, as must, in time, deprive navigators of those refreshments, they may be otherwise certain of meeting with. As they enjoy in common these advantages, it is a duty they owe to each other, to endeavour as much as possible to preserve them.

This island, which is situated in latitude  $38^{\circ} 21' 37''$  south, longitude  $74^{\circ} 38' 26''$  west, is about twenty miles in circumference, has a verdant and beautiful appearance, its hills being covered to their summits with trees of a large size, and clumps of them are near the water's edge, which renders wooding very easy. Ships may also supply themselves with excellent water, from several beautiful streams, which discharge themselves on the west side. It would, however, be necessary to wait for a favourable time to take the casks off, as, when the sea is high, the surf beats with great violence.

It was settled in the early part of the last century by the Spaniards, and was deserted by them, perhaps in consequence of the terrors excited by the buccaniers. It is now frequented by vessels engaged in smuggling, and in the whale fishery, as well as those employed in catching seals; great numbers of which are always to be found on the rocks and small keys. Shags, penguins, and other aquatic birds, are to be found in great numbers; the woods are filled with birds of various descriptions; and apples and purslain grow on different parts of the island. Our short stay here did not enable me to give this interesting spot so thorough an examination as I could have wished; but I saw enough to



convince me, that it is a most desirable place for vessels to touch at after doubling Cape Horn.

At daylight, on the morning of the 7th, lieutenant Downes went on shore to endeavour to get some more fresh meat. I directed him to be on board by eight o'clock, as the appearance of the weather indicated fresh gales, and I intended at that time to leave the island. The wind, however, freshened up, and at half past seven, the ship, lying at a short scope of cable, started her anchor; I consequently hove it up, and fired a gun as a signal for the boat to come off, and on her return made sail to the northward, along the coast.

Lieutenant Downes had not been successful, having killed only one horse, and, from the great hurry he was in to get on board, seeing the ship under way, could only bring with him one quarter.

I now proceeded with an intention of touching at St. Maria's, where, from the freshness of the gale, I expected to arrive before night. I ranged the coast within five or six miles, and kept a sharp lookout, with the hope of speaking some vessel, whereby we might be enabled to obtain some information of the enemy; but was disappointed. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, we were but three leagues distant from the southwest part of St. Maria's; but the gale had increased so much, and the weather had become so hazy, that it would have been very unsafe to have attempted to run in for the anchorage, particularly as I was perfectly ignorant of the passage between it and the main, and had no person on board who could give me any information respecting it that could be relied on. Although several of my seamen had frequently anchored there, they differed so widely in their accounts of the place, and were altogether so ignorant of the depth of water inside the island, that I found it would be absolutely necessary to send in a boat to sound before I ventured in with the ship. I laboured under the great inconvenience of having only one chart of the whole of the coast of America, and that on so small a scale, as not to be relied on but for the direction of the coast, projection of head-lands, &c.; and on that the island of St. Maria's was merely marked as a point. I had no views of land, no descriptions or draughts of harbours on this coast, and felt myself greatly embarrassed, from the



extreme caution with which I was compelled to navigate. I however hoped to remove this difficulty the first prize I should be so fortunate as to make, and felt more desire to get possession of the charts than can well be conceived; for, at this time, good charts of the coast would be the greatest treasure we could meet with.

Finding that I could not run in for the anchorage, or send in a boat, on account of the violence of the wind, which had now increased to a gale, I hauled off under three double-reefed topsails. But we were soon compelled to bring to under close-reefed fore and main topsails, and send down our top-gallant-yards. Notwithstanding the ship pitching very deep, and straining considerably, I determined to run to the northward as far as Conception, and directed the helm to be put a-weather; but the gale increasing through the night, I found it would not be safe to bring her to, and in the morning we found ourselves considerably to the northward of that port. About 8 o'clock, the wind became very light, and shifted to the northward, bringing with it a very thick fog. I, however, stood to the eastward, with an expectation of seeing the land; and at meridian, the fog having cleared off for a few minutes, we discovered it, at the distance of about eight miles, our latitude being  $35^{\circ} 40'$  south, and our soundings one hundred and five fathoms, green oozy bottom. The water at this time was much discoloured.

I now considered myself in a good position to meet vessels plying between Conception and Valparaiso; and as neither the health of the crew, the state of my provisions, nor the distresses of the ship, rendered my going into port absolutely necessary, I determined to keep the sea a while longer, in hopes of meeting some of the enemy's ships, and thereby obtain such supplies as would render it entirely unnecessary to make ourselves known on the coast, until we were about quitting it. Unfortunately, the fog continued to envelope us, and prevented our extending our view a mile beyond the ship, which rendered it unsafe to keep so close in shore as I wished; for although the land is very high all along this coast, and in clear weather may be seen from a great distance, yet the state of the atmosphere was such, that before we could see it distinctly, the white foam of breakers, among the rocks which skirt it, was evident to

us. We were here surrounded by whales in great numbers, which gave us strong hopes of soon meeting some of the vessels engaged in catching them, as the whales generally go in schools along the coast, and the whalers keep in pursuit of them, following their track north and south. We also saw many seals, and birds in greater numbers than at any time during our passage, except while in the neighbourhood of Mocha.

From the 8th until the 11th, the weather continued foggy, and the winds light and baffling from the northward, which prevented us from making any head-way, and during their continuation deprived us of all hope of discovering vessels. Nothing could now exceed our impatience. We had come thus far without having seen a vessel of any description; but as we had not expected to meet any, we had not been disappointed. Now we had arrived at the theatre of our intended operations, and impatiently waited for the curtain to rise, for we calculated on seeing a vessel of some kind, so soon as the fog should clear off. Even a Spaniard would have been a most welcome sight to us, as, by speaking him, we hoped to be enabled to get some information of the enemy that would be of service to us; for we were now groping in the dark, and entirely ignorant of what British ships were on the coast; and until we could obtain some intelligence, no plan could be adopted that would afford us hopes of success.

On the latter part of the 12th, light airs sprang up from the southwest, the weather began to clear off slowly, and every eye was engaged in searching for a sail, as the fog moved to leeward. Nothing, however, was to be seen but a wide expanse of ocean, bounded on the east by the dreary, barren, and iron-bound coast of Chili, at the back of which the eternally snow-capt mountains of the Andes reared their lofty heads, and altogether presented to us a scene of gloomy solitude, far exceeding any thing I ever before experienced. The winds now freshening up, enabled us to make sail to the northward; and as the weather was clear, I determined to keep close in with the coast, that no vessel might be enabled to pass between us and the shore unobserved. In the course of our run this and the next day we could discover no vessels of any description, or the least trace of the existence of a human being on the



coast, except in one instance, when a fire was lighted in the evening in a small cove, probably by some Indians, or persons engaged in smuggling, and intended, no doubt, as an invitation for us to land.

On the morning of the 13th, we discovered that our main-topsail-yard was badly sprung, and were compelled to get it down and replace it with another, which we were so fortunate as to have on board. On the afternoon of that day we made the point three or four leagues to the southwest of the bay of Valparaiso, and called by the Spaniards Quaranmilla. This point, as you come from the southward, may be known by its sloping off gently towards the sea; and close to the end of it is a small rugged island, or rather large rock, about the height of a ship's masts. At eight P. M., I brought the point to bear N. N. E., distant about four leagues, and then hove to with the hope of intercepting some vessel in the morning, bound to Valparaiso, as all vessels bound there endeavour to make this point. At sunrise, not discovering a sail, I determined to look into the harbour, and see at once what hopes we had in this quarter; and accordingly steered away for Point Quaranmilla under all sail, doubling it at the distance of half a league. After passing this point we perceived some scattering rocks lying some distance from shore, and shortly afterwards opened a handsome bay, with a fine sandy beach, where we perceived a few fishing boats engaged in fishing; and wishing to have some communication with them, I hoisted the English ensign and pendant, and a jack for a pilot, but none of them appeared disposed to come along side. In the bottom of the bay was a small enclosure with a hut, and on the top of the next projecting point was another small building, apparently covered with tiles. On the sides of the neighbouring hills were several cattle grazing. These were the only marks of civilization we had yet met on the coast, and nothing whatever appeared to indicate our approach to the most important city of Chili. With the exception of the few cattle that grazed on the arid rocks, the two huts before mentioned, and the miserable looking fishermen, the coast here had the same desolate appearance as the rest we had seen, and since we left Mocha, but little of it had escaped our observation. It was in vain that we sought for those handsome villages, well-culti-



vated hills, and fertile valleys, which we had been prepared to meet in this part of the world.

The whole coast is skirted by a black and gloomy rock, against the perpendicular sides of which the sea beats with fury. At the back of this rock the country appears dreary beyond description. Yellow and barren hills, cut by torrents into deep ravines, and sprinkled sparingly here and there with shrubs; but not a tree of any size was to be seen on this whole extent of coast. When the weather was clear we always saw the Andes; and as these were never clear of snow, they were not calculated to give us a more favourable impression of the interior.

The next point which presented itself, on the top of which the afore-mentioned tile-covered house was situated, was the point of Angels, which I had learned formed the western point of the Bay of Valparaiso. As I perceived some rocks lying off it, I doubled it, with a stiff breeze from the southward, at the distance of nearly half a mile, keeping the lead going, but got no bottom at the depth of sixty fathoms. As we rounded this point I sought with my glass the city of Valparaiso, or some proofs of our approach to it: first a long sandy beach, on the opposite side, offered itself to my view; next a large drove of loaded mules coming down the side of the mountain by a zigzag pathway: and in an instant afterwards the whole town, shipping with their colours flying, and the forts, burst out as it were from behind the rocks, and we found ourselves becalmed under the guns of a battery prepared to fire into us. The scene presented to us was as animated and cheerful as it was sudden and unexpected; and had I not hoisted English colours, I should have been tempted to run in and anchor. A moment's reflection induced me to believe, that, under existing circumstances, it would not be adviseable to do so, as several large Spanish ships, with their sails bent, and in readiness for sea, were lying in the port. As those vessels were, beyond doubt, bound to the northward, and in all probability to Lima, I concluded on keeping the sea a few days longer, to give them time to get out, in order that intelligence might not be given by them of an American frigate being in this part of the world. There was also in the port an American brig deeply laden, pierced for eighteen guns, lying close in shore, with her yards and topmasts

struck, her boarding-nettings triced up, and in appearance prepared for defence. A large and clumsy-looking English brig was also lying there with her sails unbent, her crew employed in tarring down her rigging. Being very light, I concluded she was a whaler repairing her damages after her passage around Cape Horn; and calculating that she might put to sea in a few days, I determined on running some distance to the northward, and then beating up, believing my chance of intercepting her, as well as of obtaining a knowledge of the departure of the Spanish ships, would be more likely by pursuing this plan than any other. I consequently stood to the northward; and as soon as we took the breeze again, made all sail, and in four hours we were thirty miles from Valparaiso. The wind now dying away, and believing my distance sufficiently great to avoid being seen, I hauled on a wind to the westward. In the course of this run, in which we made a north course from the point of Angels, we perceived two reefs of rocks, that lay a considerable distance from the shore; the first, three leagues from Valparaiso, and one mile from the coast; the second, of greater extent, twenty miles from Valparaiso, and two miles from the coast. On both these reefs the sea breaks with great violence, and several of the rocks show themselves out of water. These were the only dangers that we discovered; the rest of the coast appeared safe and bold, and had the same dismal appearance as that we had seen to the southward, with the exception of numerous herds of cattle, which were grazing on the sun-burnt hills.

On the morning of the 15th, we succeeded in getting off the point of Angels, which I ranged at two cables' length from a few scattering rocks which lay at the distance of about a cable's length from the shore. We had been running in with a good breeze, but it died away calm off the point, when we furled all sails, and put our drags into operation to get into the harbour; but in the mean time despatched lieutenant Downes to inform the governor that we were an American frigate greatly in need of supplies of every kind, that our wants were greatly augmented by the loss of our store-ship off Cape Horn; and that we threw ourselves on his hospitality. I was induced to use this little artifice from a knowledge of the unaccommodating dis-

position of the Spaniards, and their jealousies respecting foreign vessels that enter the ports of their American possessions. From the stand the United States had taken against the aggressions of Great Britain, as well as their conduct with respect to the Floridas, I had not reason to expect from them much amity; and only hoped to extort from them, under the plea of distress, permission to take in a few provisions, and to fill our water; and indeed it was not without many restrictions that I hoped to obtain even this indulgence. Before I had got to an anchor, however, the captain of the port, accompanied by another officer, and lieutenant Downes, came on board in the governor's barge, with an offer of every civility, assistance, and accommodation that Valparaiso could afford. To my astonishment I was informed that they had shaken off their allegiance to Spain; that the ports of Chili were open to all nations; that they looked up to the United States of America for example and protection; that our arrival would be considered the most joyful event, as their commerce had been much harassed by corsairs from Peru, sent out by the vice-roy of that province, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels destined for Chili; and that five of them had disappeared from before the port only a few days before my arrival, after having captured several American whalers, and sent them for Lima. This unexpected state of affairs, as may naturally be supposed, (considering our existing wants,) was calculated to afford me the utmost pleasure, as it promised us a speedy departure from Valparaiso.

The affair of the salute was arranged; and, after anchoring, I saluted the town with twenty-one guns, which were punctually returned. Immediately after this I waited on the governor, don Francisco Lastre, who gave me the most friendly, and at the same time unceremonious reception. On my passing the American armed brig *Colt*, she fired a salute of nine guns, which was returned by the *Essex* with seven. I had not been long with the governor, before I discovered that I had, happily for my purpose, got among staunch republicans, men filled with revolutionary principles, and apparently desirous of establishing a form of government founded on liberty. But it could not be concealed that some of the leaven of the old Spanish *regime* was



still among them; and that, however desirous they might appear of establishing liberty and equal rights, the chief aim of a few leading characters and designing men among them, was despotic power. The governor was himself one of those who owed his rise entirely to the revolution; his grade was that of a lieutenant in the navy; but he was created governor on shaking off his allegiance to Ferdinand. It could, however, be perceived, that his excellency was rather lukewarm and cautious in his expressions, and was still desirous of preserving appearances, in the event of the province returning again to its former masters. The captain of the port, whose name I do not recollect, was a sterling honest patriot, and spoke his sentiments boldly; he evidently felt as those should feel who are determined to be free; appeared sensible they had yet much to do; and I am sure was resolved to do the utmost to emancipate his country.

A courier was immediately despatched by the American deputy vice-consul, to Santiago, the capital of Chili, to inform Mr. Poinsett, the American consul-general, of our arrival in the port of Valparaiso; and arrangements were made for getting our wood, water, and provisions on board. The latter article I found could be procured in the greatest abundance, of an excellent quality, and at a more moderate price than in any port of the United States. I also directed a daily supply of fresh beef and vegetables, fruit and fresh bread, for the crew, and, by the time I completed these arrangements, was informed that the governor intended returning my visit. I consequently went on board to receive him, and on his arrival, with a numerous suite of officers, saluted him with eleven guns. It appears that many of them had never before seen a frigate, all of them being native Chilians, and this being the first, since their recollection, that had entered the port. The *Standard*, a British ship of the line, had touched there four months since for refreshments, on her way to Lima; but some misunderstanding having taken place between them and her officers, there was but little intercourse between them. The visit lasted about two hours, during which time they viewed every part of the ship; and although she appeared under great disadvantage, from having been so long at sea, and from the tempestuous passage around Cape Horn, still they were much

pleased and astonished that *Anglo-Americans*, as they styled us, could build, equip, and manage ships of so large a size.

The governor, before he left the ship, invited myself and officers to a party for the next evening, and expressed great regrets that we had not arrived sooner, as they had had the evening before great rejoicings, in consequence of a victory gained by their troops over those of Peru. It seems that a small, unimportant fortress, belonging to the latter, had fallen into the hands of the Chilians.

Our purchases of provisions went on as well as I could desire, but our watering proceeded but slowly, as the only place from whence we could procure it, was a small well near the landing-place by the custom-house, which would only admit of four or five casks being filled before it gave out. We were then compelled to wait some time for the water to run in, before we could fill any more; but as it afforded a supply of from one thousand to fifteen hundred gallons per day, I concluded to fix the period of our departure on the 22d, allowing one week to get all our supplies.

When we first arrived, a few boats came off with fruit, and, as was the case at St. Catharines, the most exorbitant prices were demanded for the most trifling article. However, as they continued to increase in numbers, I soon saw that the evil would be speedily removed; and permission being given them to establish their market on board, our supply was in a few hours as abundant, and at as low prices, as in the market on shore. Nothing could exceed the excellence and abundance of the apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, melons, onions, potatoes, and vegetables of every description. The potatoes are superior in size and quality to those of any other country, and are indigenous. Tons of the foregoing articles were sold to our people, which were laid by as a sea stock, as well as hogs and poultry in great numbers, and of the best qualities. The fowls are of the largest size, and of that kind called the China fowl, which were sold at the moderate price of two and a half dollars per dozen; indeed, I soon perceived that, unless I placed some restrictions, my ship would be much encumbered with the stock on board her. I therefore, before my departure, gave directions that all the hogs belonging to the crew should be killed, except one for each mess; and this arrangement left upwards of one hundred hogs on

board, counting those belonging to the officers. No part of the world could have afforded us a more ample supply of every kind of provision required. The flour and bread were of a very superior quality, and could be procured in any quantities without difficulty. We could not, however, without considerable delay, procure salt provisions, except jerked beef: this was to be had in large quantities, and put up in a superior manner for exportation, in a network formed of strips of hide, containing one hundred weight. All the dry provisions were put up in hides; the flour was better secured in them, and more closely packed, than it could possibly be in barrels; and, although much heavier, we found them more manageable. The use they make of hides is astonishing; the most of the furniture for their mules and horses, and their houses, and, on some parts of the coast, even their boats, or (as they are called) balsas, are made of this article. It is used for every purpose to which it is possible to apply it, either whole, cut in pieces, or in long strips. When used for balsas, two hides, each cut something in the form of a canoe, with the seam upwards, are blown up by means of a reed, and stopped together; a piece of board is then laid across to sit on, and on this frail machine they venture a considerable distance to sea. The *laque*, for the use of which the Chilians are so famous, is formed of a very long strip of hide, with a running noose; and their dexterity in using it, in catching animals at full speed, is surprising. Every pack-horseman and driver of a jackass is furnished with one of these; and so much do they delight in them, or in showing their dexterity, that when they wish to catch any one of their drove, either to load, or unload, or for any other purpose, they take their distance, deliberately coil up their *laque*, and never fail of throwing it over the neck of the animal wanted.

On the 17th, captain Munson, of the American brig in port, arrived from St. Jago, bringing me a letter from the consul-general, inviting myself and officers, in the name of the government of Chili, to visit the capital, and informing us that horses and every other convenience were provided for us on the road. Captain Munson was also desired by the consul to inform me, that the president and junta, with a large military escort, would meet us at a considerable distance from the city; and that, in a political view, they considered our



arrival as the most happy event. Captain Munson stated, that the bells had been rung the whole day, and illuminations had taken place the evening after our arrival was announced; and that it was generally believed that I had brought from my country nothing less than proposals for a friendly alliance with Chili, and assurances of assistance in their struggle for independence. This idea I felt no disposition to do away with; and as I had not, since my arrival, given any hints of my object in this sea, I found it not too late to encourage a belief that suited my views and accorded with their wishes. I had prepared my officers and crew to secrecy before my arrival, and had now no objection that the good people of this place should put the most favourable construction on our arrival among them, provided it did not traverse my only object, the getting a supply of provisions, a circumstance which their solicitude to oblige gave me no cause whatever to apprehend.

When we were about to embark our provisions, it was signified to me by the deputy vice-consul, that the officer of the customs did not feel himself authorized to permit their embarkation free from duty, without orders from superior authority, unless we would enter into bonds to pay the duty, if it should be exacted by the junta; the governor also had felt a delicacy on the subject, and had written to St. Jago for instructions. Knowing the favourable disposition of the superior government toward us, and learning that the officer of the customs was averse to the present form of government, and suspected of monarchical principles, I spurned the idea of entering into bonds, and refused to take any thing on board until I had full authority from the president and junta, which I was sure of getting without any material loss of time, as a courier was about being despatched with my letter, in reply to that of Mr. Poinsett, in which I took the opportunity of mentioning the circumstance. The governor, however, received orders the next day to permit us to take on board whatever we pleased, free from every embarrassment of custom-house or other regulations, and was directed to afford myself and officers every facility and civility in his power, calculated to forward our views, and render our stay among them agreeable. This order the governor brought himself on board to show me, and at my request furnished me a copy.

Agreeably to the governor's invitation, we attended his party, where we found a much larger and more brilliant assemblage of ladies than we could have expected in Valparaiso. We found much fancy and considerable taste displayed in their dress, and many of them, with the exception of teeth, very handsome, both in person and in face; their complexion remarkably fine, and their manners modest and attractive. This was our first impression on entering a room containing perhaps two hundred ladies, to whom we were perfect strangers. Minuets were introduced; country-dances followed; and the ladies had the complaisance and patience to attempt with my officers, what they had never before seen in the country, a *cotillion*. The intricacies of their country-dance were too great for us to attempt; they were greatly delighted in by those who knew them, and admitted a display of much grace. With their grace, their beauty of person and complexion, and with their modesty, we were delighted, and could almost fancy we had gotten amongst our own fair country-women; but in one moment the illusion vanished. The *ballas de tierra*, as they are called, commenced: they consisted of the most graceless, and at the same time fatiguing movements of the body and limbs, accompanied by the most indelicate and lascivious motions, gradually increasing in energy and violence, until the fair one, apparently overcome with passion, and evidently exhausted with fatigue, was compelled to retire to her seat.

They disfigure themselves most lavishly with paint; but their features are agreeable, and their large dark eyes are remarkably brilliant and expressive. Were it not for their bad teeth, occasioned by the too liberal use of the *matti*, they would, notwithstanding the Chilian tinge, be thought handsome, particularly by those who had been so long as we out of the way of seeing any women.

The *matti* is a decoction of the herb of Paraguay, sweetened with sugar, and sucked hot through a long silver tube. To the use of this beverage the Chilians are perfect slaves. The taste is agreeable, but it occasions terrible havoc among the teeth. We returned on board our ship pleased with the novelties of a Chilian ball, and much gratified by the solicitude shown by every one to make our stay amongst them agreeable. Invitations had been given by

them to visit at their houses ; but time was too precious to us to be spent in amusements. All were busily engaged until the 20th in getting on board our supplies, and on the meridian of that day we had completed our water, and, with the exception of a few small articles, had as much provisions on board as the day we left the United States. Those we calculated on taking on board while our accounts were in a train for settlement ; and as the next day was Sunday, and we all required some relaxation from our fatigues, I determined to devote it to pleasure, and invited the ladies and gentlemen of Valparaiso to spend the afternoon on board the ship, all, as well as ourselves, being previously engaged for the evening at a ball, at the house of Mr. Blanquo, the vice-consul. The Spaniards, and particularly catholics, do not, like the people of protestant countries, spend their Sabbath in penance and prayers, but in feasting and dancing ; and although a good catholic would consider himself lost if he neglected confession, or tasted meat during Lent, yet he is above the vulgar protestant prejudice of devoting one whole day in each week to the worship of the Almighty, when he has it in his power to spend it so much more agreeably in amusement. The consul-general had arrived from St. Jago, accompanied by don Lewis Carrera, the brother of the president, by the consul, a Mr. Heywell, and another American gentleman. They all dined on board my ship on Saturday, and were saluted with eleven guns. On Sunday, about 3 o'clock, myself and officers were on shore with our boats to take the ladies on board the ship, she having been previously prepared for their entertainment ; and we had all laid aside our national and religious prejudices, and devoted ourselves entirely to the pleasures of the day, when, at the moment we were on the point of embarking with them, an officer came from the ship to inform me that a large frigate had appeared in the offing, and on perceiving us had hauled in for the harbour. We all immediately left our fair Chilians, and without any ceremony jumped in our boats and repaired on board, where I found every thing prepared for getting under way. I soon perceived that the strange ship was a thirty-two gun frigate, gave orders to cut the cables, and in an instant the Essex was under a cloud of canvas ; but as the breeze, which had until this moment blown, now fail-



ed, we got all our boats ahead, and towed out of the harbour, and in the course of an hour we were along side the stranger, who proved to be a Portuguese, that had been sent round by the government at Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of getting a supply of flour for Lisbon. As there was every expectation of an engagement, the consul-general, and several Americans and Spaniards, and don Lewis Carrera, came on board to share with us the dangers; the latter appeared to us a spirited youth, (about twenty-two years of age,) and as he had never been in any engagement of importance, was evidently anxious to partake of one. His constant request of me was to board the stranger, and his disappointment was great when he discovered the Portuguese flag. We could perceive the hills crowded with men, women, and children, all equally, and perhaps more anxious than don Lewis, to see the fight. Among them, as it afterwards proved, were our fair guests, who did not hesitate to declare their disappointment; and frankly acknowledged that a sight of a sea engagement would have had more charms for them than all the entertainment we could have afforded them on board the ship.

The wind continued light; and, the day being far advanced, I gave up all thoughts of returning to port that night, and stood off to sea, endeavouring to get to windward. Don Lewis, as well as his servants who accompanied him, soon became excessively sick; and however warlike he might have felt when he first came on board, he was now as helpless as an infant. We succeeded, by the help of our drags, in getting to our anchors early next morning, and were more fortunate in finding the buoys we had put to our cables than I had expected. We, immediately on securing our ship, took on board the remainder of our supplies. An invitation was brought for us to dine and spend the evening with the governor, who, we could perceive by the flags about the battery in front of his house, had made great preparations for the occasion; and we were informed that the entertainment was given us by the order and at the expense of the superior government of Chili. The company was seated in an extensive tent, handsomely and fancifully decorated with the flags of different nations, and the ground covered with rich carpets; the dinner was served up in silver plate, and, with the exception of the blades of

the knives alone, no other metal or substance whatever was used for any part of the table equipage. The dinner consisted of at least twenty changes; and by the time the third course had been removed, we had cause to regret that we had not reserved our appetites for some of the delicacies which we perceived were likely to succeed the substantial food of the first course, which we had begun upon with keen appetites, and were soon cloyed. The officers of the Portuguese ship, and some English merchants, were also at table; but when the wine began to circulate, and the Chilian officers to feel the ardour of their patriotism, such flaming toasts were given, as to make them think it prudent to retire.

As the ball was to succeed the dinner in the tent, we walked round with the governor to look at the fortifications, which were in tolerable order; and on our return found the ladies assembled, dressed in all their splendour, and unusually disfigured with paint. The night was spent with much hilarity, and at one o'clock in the morning we repaired on board. Having now little to detain us, I intended sailing early; but the ladies seemed determined not to be cheated out of a visit to the ship, for the governor, his wife, with a boat-load of other ladies, came on board about nine o'clock, and remained until twelve. On their leaving us, I saluted them with eleven guns. We now prepared to weigh our anchor; but the arrival of an American whale-ship, that had been carried into Lima, and there liberated, (after great loss of time, and paying costs of suit,) occasioned some little delay, as I was desirous of obtaining the news from her. The captain, (Worth.) on coming on board, informed me, that a few days before he had spoken with two English armed whalers, one off the Island of Mocha, the other off the harbour of Conception; that three other American whalers were in company; and that the English ships were the first that gave them the intelligence of the war, and informed them that they had no orders to capture American vessels, but were in daily expectation of authority to that effect. Captain Worth also informed me, that several English whale-ships were cruising among the Gallipagos islands, and off the harbour of Payta, on the coast of Peru, and recommended by all means my proceeding to those places, where I should be certain of meeting them; he also gave

me such information as would render my falling in with them probable while running along the coast. He represented our whale-fishers, which were very numerous, as in a helpless and unprotected state, entirely exposed to attack and capture by the armed English ships in those seas, carrying from fourteen to twenty guns, and well manned : he stated that, as our whale-ships sometimes kept the sea for six months at a time, most of them were ignorant of the war, and would fall an easy and unsuspecting prey to the British ships : he informed me that he had heard of the capture of one American ship, which had been taken by a British letter of marque, and carried to Lima ; but that the government had not permitted her to remain there, and that she had proceeded for St. Helena to take convoy for England. After receiving this intelligence, I got under way, and proceeded to sea, with a fresh breeze from the southward, steering northwest to get an offing from the land.

From my extreme occupation with my duty, and the rapidity of the events which took place during the week I remained at Valparaiso, it could scarcely be supposed that I could have an opportunity of making many observations on the place, the manners and customs of the people, or the political state of the country. Perhaps no week of my life was ever more actively employed, both in labour and in pleasure ; and had not a strong desire of serving our country to the utmost overcome every other consideration, we should have left Valparaiso with much regret. But during our stay there two Spanish ships had sailed for Lima, and the certainty that they would give intelligence of us to the enemy, made our speedy departure the more necessary, as it had always been my intention to visit that coast previous to my going to any other place. From all accounts, the coast of Peru, and from there to the Gallipagos, is the favourite fishing-ground of the British whalers. From thence I intended proceeding to the latter place, and to endeavour to arrive at their general rendezvous at Albemarle island, before the British agent at Lima could have an opportunity of giving them intelligence of my arrival in this sea ; for it seemed beyond a doubt that they would conjecture that my designs were not confined to the doubling Cape Horn merely for the pleasure of visiting Valparaiso.

While we lay at Valparaiso, I established it as a general



rule, that every person belonging to the ship should be on board at gun-fire, at eight P. M., unless on some special occasion, when I should be on shore with them at a party. This rule was violated by the carpenter under the most aggravating circumstances; and, as he was a worthless fellow, I did not permit him to return on board the ship again. The gunner was detected in smuggling rum on board, contrary to the regulations of the ship; and, as he had conducted himself very improperly in other respects, I caused him to be confined in irons. Three Americans belonging to the English brig in port claimed my protection, and I took them on board. As my prisoners were an incumbrance to me, I landed the whole of them the morning I left port, except one, who the evening before had attempted to make his escape by swimming away; and as this man had not confided in my generosity, I considered that he had forfeited all claim to it. I also intimated to Mr. Nelson, (a Dane found on board the Elizabeth, who preferred remaining with us,) that he could not remain any longer on board. As he was destitute of money, we raised a subscription suited to his immediate wants, and I gave him a letter to the consul-general, which, I am in hopes, will be the means of placing him in some employment that will afford him a support.

The town of Valparaiso is pleasantly situated at the bottom of the bay, and is a place of considerable commerce. The anchorage is in front, and from two to five cables length from the shore, where vessels lie secure, and are sheltered from all except the north winds, which blow directly into the harbour, and occasion a considerable sea. There have been instances of vessels being driven on shore by them, and all hands perishing. On the eastern limits of the town, towards the village of Almandral, and near some rocks, is erected a cross, as a monument of the loss of a Spanish ship that was driven on shore here, and all her crew lost.

The bay is entirely free from danger, and the only advice necessary for running into the harbour, is to stand in for the middle of the town, choosing your anchorage in from twenty-five to seven fathoms water. The bottom is every where clean, and the holding ground good. As the port has been so accurately and minutely described by Vancou-

ver and others, any further directions would be superfluous.

The customs of the inhabitants of this place differ so materially from our own, (and perhaps from those of every other people,) that I cannot help noticing a few particulars that struck me as the most singular.

At all their dinner entertainments, the principal guest is placed at the head of the table, the host on one side of him, and the hostess on the other; and their principal business appears to be to make him eat as much as possible. This duty they are apt to perform most effectually, if he happens, like me, to be a stranger, and not aware of the variety of changes that is to be brought on, each one more and more inviting in its appearance and taste.

There is another practice at their balls, or evening parties, which at first gave me some embarrassment. A very large silver dish, filled with sweet jelly, was presented to me by a servant, as well as a silver plate and fork. Believing that the whole dish could not be intended for me, I attempted to take the plate; this the servant objected to. I then attempted to take the dish; but to this she also objected. I felt certain, however, that it was intended for me to eat in some way or other, and was determined to do it in that way which appeared the most natural and convenient; I therefore took from her the plate and fork, and helped myself to as much as I thought I should want. The eyes of all the company, however, were on me, and I perceived that I had made some mistake, which I was soon convinced of; for the servant brought another plate with a fork, which was handed with the sweetmeats around to the company, and each one made use of the same fork to take a mouthful, holding his head carefully over the dish in order that nothing might fall from his mouth to the floor; the fork was then laid on the plate, and passed to the next. The *matti* is taken with as little regard to delicacy or cleanliness. When the cup containing it is brought in, one of the company blows into it, through the silver tube, until a high froth is produced; it is then considered properly prepared. The same *matti* and tube is then passed around the room, and each one takes in turn a draught of it, with much apparent relish and delight. It is also a practice for one glass of water, one spoon, or one segar, to be served to the

whole company. A Chilian lady would consider it a high indecorum to be seen walking arm in arm with a gentleman; and their refinement is so great, that it is thought indelicate even to accept his hand in any way, except in dancing, when, to be sure, every thing like delicacy is laid aside. They are, however, extremely hospitable and attentive to strangers; and if they have their peculiar customs which seem strange to us, we no doubt have our own equally deserving their animadversion.

The whole power and force of the kingdom of Chili is now concentrated in one family, who have taken advantage of the state of anarchy into which it fell for want of rulers, and placed themselves at the head of government. This family is the Carreras. The eldest brother has created himself commander of the infantry; the second brother is president of the junta, and commander of the cavalry; the third, don Lewis, is commander of the artillery; and they are altogether capable of bringing into the field fifteen thousand men, but they have not arms for more than six thousand. They are in alliance with the Buenos Ayreans, and have furnished them with five hundred men, properly equipped, to assist them in carrying on their war against the Montevideans. The rest of their force, except a few men on the frontiers of Peru, remains unemployed; and indeed they all appear too much engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, and the gratification of their appetites, to be capable of making any great military exertions.

There is a strong and secret party opposed to the present administration, and favourable to the cause of Ferdinand VII.: they are styled *Saracens*; the party in power are denominated *Patriots*; the former are dangerous, and are not a little dreaded, from the concealed manner in which they carry on their hostilities. Several of their emissaries have already been convicted of attempts to assassinate the officers of the present government; some have been sentenced to be hung, others to be banished to the island of *Juan Fernandez*. The patriots are known by a tri-coloured cockade, blue, yellow, and white; and the ladies of that party are distinguished by wearing their hair gracefully brushed over on the left side of the face. They seem to have entered into the spirit of the revolution, and perhaps not without cause, as most of the patriots are young,



dashing, native Chilians, and the adverse party are invariably crusty, old, formal Castilians. The patriots have not yet openly declared themselves independent, nor has any declaration of war taken place between them and the Peruvians. Yet they have done what nearly amounts to the same thing; they have formed for themselves a constitution, one article of which punishes with death any person, residing in Chili, who shall keep up any secret intelligence with, or execute any order from, any power not resident within the state.

After the governor's party had broken up, Mr. Poinsett and don Lewis took their leave of me to proceed to St. Jago. From thence they were to accompany the president to Concepcion, with a view of fortifying and making the place more secure against foreign invasion.

Before my departure, I wrote a letter to commodore Bainbridge, enclosed it to the minister at Rio Janeiro, and sent them to Mr. Poinsett to be forwarded.

I shall now take my leave of Valparaiso, and continue my cruise.

## CHAPTER V.

RUN DOWN THE COAST OF CHILI AND PERU; ARRIVE AT THE  
GALLIPAGOS ISLANDS.

ON the morning of the 25th, at daylight, we discovered a sail to the northeast, which we gave chase and soon came up with. She proved to be the American whale-ship Charles, captain Gardner, belonging to Nantucket, about four months from Lima, where she had been sent for adjudication by a privateer belonging to that port, and was liberated after paying costs. Captain Gardner informed me, that, two days before, he had been in company with the American whale-ships Walker and Barclay, near the port of Coquimbo; that he had been chased and fired at by a Spanish and an English ship; and that he saw them take possession of both the Walker and Barclay. I consequently crowded all sail, in company with the Charles, for Coquimbo, with an expectation of falling in with them. At eight o'clock descried a sail to the northward, to which I gave chase, and at meridian we were near enough to discover her to be a ship of war, disguised as a whaler, with whale-boats on her quarters. She shortly afterwards hoisted the Spanish flag, when we showed English colours, and fired a gun to leeward, which she shortly returned, and run down for us. The Charles, agreeably to directions I had previously given captain Gardner, hoisted an English jack over the American ensign; the Spaniard, when at the distance of a mile, fired a shot at us which passed our bow. I immediately, from her appearance and the description I had received of her, knew her to be one of the picaroons that had been for a long time harassing our commerce, and felt so exasperated at his firing a shot, that I was almost tempted to pour a broadside into him; but reflecting that we were under British colours, and that the insult was not intended for the American flag, I contented myself with firing a few shot over him to bring him down. Shortly afterwards, a boat was lowered down from her, and sent to the Essex; but perceiving

her crew to be armed, I directed her to return immediately to the ship, with orders for her to run down under our lee, and for her commander to repair on board with his papers, and to apologize for firing a shot at us. She soon returned with the second lieutenant, who brought her commission, and stated that the captain was too unwell to leave his ship. She proved to be the Peruvian privateer *Nereyda*, of fifteen guns. The lieutenant informed me that they were cruising for American vessels, and had captured the *Barclay* and *Walker* in the port of Coquimbo, but that the British letter of marque *Nimrod*, captain Perry, had driven their people from on board the *Walker*, and taken possession of her; that they were in search of the *Nimrod*, to endeavour to recover their prize; that seeing us, with the *Charles* in company, they had supposed us to be the vessels they were in search of, and this had been the cause of their firing a shot. He stated that the Peruvians were the allies of Great Britain; that he had always respected the British flag; and that his sole object was the capture of American vessels; that he had been out four months, and had only met the aforesaid vessels; and that the crew of the *Barclay*, and the captain and part of the crew of the *Walker*, were now detained as prisoners on board the *Nereyda*. I informed him that I wished to see the captain of the *Walker*, and one of the prisoners from the *Barclay*; and informed him, that if his captain was too unwell to come on board, it would be necessary for the first lieutenant to repair on board, and make the apology required. On this, he despatched his boat to the *Nereyda*, which returned with captain West, of the *Walker*, and one of the crew of the *Barclay*, as well as the first lieutenant of the *Nereyda*. On taking captain West into the cabin, and assuring him that he was on board an American frigate, he informed me, that he, as well as the rest of the Americans on board the *Nereyda*, amounting to twenty-three, had been plundered of every thing; that the Spaniards had not assigned any other motives for the capture of the vessels, than that they were Americans; that both his ship and the *Barclay* were employed solely in the whale-fishery, and not concerned in any mercantile pursuit whatever; that both ships had full cargoes of oil, were about returning to America, and had put into Coquimbo for refreshments; and



that the first intelligence they had received of the war was at the time of their capture.

The Nereyda was now under the muzzle of our guns, and I directed the American flag to be hoisted, and fired two shot over her, when she struck her colours. I then sent lieutenant Downes to take possession of her, with directions to send all the Spaniards on board the Essex; and as I had reason to expect that the Nimrod and the other ships were somewhere in our neighbourhood, I stood in shore, with a view of looking into Tongue Bay and Coquimbo, sending lieutenant M'Knight to take charge of the Nereyda for the night. Next morning had all her guns, ammunition and small arms thrown overboard, as well as all her light sails. What surprised us very much was, that all the shot of this vessel, round, bar, and star-shot, were made of copper; and I have since been informed that this metal is in such abundance, and so cheap in Peru and Chili, as to be held in very little estimation, there being no comparison between the value of that and iron. Wanting a few nails while at Valparaiso, I found they could not be procured for less than one dollar per pound. But it seemed equally curious that, although copper was in such abundance, and brass guns are so far preferable to iron, yet all the guns of this vessel, except one, were cast of the latter metal, differing in this respect from the customs of every other part of the world. After I had completely dismantled her, leaving her only her topsails and courses to take her back to Callao, which is the port of Lima, I liberated all the Americans from on board of her, sent back all the Spaniards, and directed her commander to proceed to Lima with the following letter to the viceroy.

United States frigate Essex, at sea,

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

March 26, 1813.

I have this day met with the ship Nereyda, mounting fifteen guns, bearing your excellency's patent, and sailing under the Spanish flag.

On examination of said ship, I found on board her, as prisoners, the officers and crews of two vessels belonging to the United States of America, employed solely in the whale-fishery of those seas, captured by her, and sent for Lima, after being plundered of boats, cordage, provisions,

clothing, and various other articles; and was informed by her officers that they were cruising, as the allies of Great Britain, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels they should meet with, alleging, at the same time, that they had not your excellency's authority for such proceedings.

I have, therefore, to preserve the good understanding which should ever exist between the government of the United States and the provinces of Spanish America, determined to prevent in future such vexatious and piratical conduct; and with this view have deprived the Nereyda of the means of doing the American commerce any farther injury for the present, and have sent her to Lima in order that her commander may meet with such punishment from your excellency as his offence may deserve.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect and consideration, your excellency's obedient humble servant,  
(Signed) D. PORTER.

*His excellency the viceroy of Peru, Lima.*

I then left the Nereyda, and looked into Tongue Bay; but perceiving no vessels, I stood on for Coquimbo, and at sundown arrived within five miles of some small rocks, called the Chinques, which lay off the mouth of the bay. I then caused one of the whale-boats to be manned, (both of which I had taken from the Nereyda, as they belonged to the captured ships,) and sent her in with lieutenant Downes and captain West to reconnoitre the harbour, lying off and on with the ship until they returned, which was not until eleven o'clock that night. I had fixed on signals, by which lieutenant Downes was to inform me whether the ships were in the port, as well as such by which the boat could find the Essex: the latter were observed from the shore; for immediately after we had made them, several alarm guns were fired from the battery, which consisted, as I was informed, of six guns, without platform or breastwork. The boat had entered the harbour, and gone all around it, and had approached so near the shore and battery as to hear the people talking, without being discovered. Finding that the Nimrod was not at this place, I thought it probable that she had proceeded with a view of intercepting the Barclay on her way to Lima; and this I was the more

strongly induced to believe, as the captain of that ship had stated his determination of taking the Barclay from the Spaniards, alleging that, as she had not been engaged in any contraband or illicit trade, they had no right to capture her, and that the Peruvian government would certainly liberate her on her arrival at Calao, by which means he should be cheated out of a prize. I therefore determined to lose no time in endeavouring to get to the northward, on the coast of Peru, where I hoped to arrive in time not only to frustrate the views of the captain of the Nimrod, but to recapture the Barclay and the Walker. I considered the capture of the Nimrod of the greatest importance to our national interests in those seas, and while there was a chance of effecting this object, provided it did not interfere too much with my other views, I thought the pursuit of her should not be abandoned. To captains Gardner and West I intimated my intentions, advising the former to run into Coquimbo, and there demand for his vessel the protection of government. The latter I advised to proceed with all expedition to St. Jago, and lay his claim for damages before the government.

I gave the Americans whom I had liberated from the Nereyda their choice, either to remain in the Essex, or be landed at Coquimbo. Nine of them preferred remaining; the remainder, with captain West, were put on board the Charles, who made sail in for the harbour, and I steered to the northwest, with all the sail we could crowd.

Prior to leaving captains Gardner and West, I requested them to give me a list of all the whale-ships, both English and American, that they could recollect, and were certain of being now in this sea. They both agreed that the Galapagos was the most likely place to find them, and confirmed in every particular the account given by captain Worth. The list they gave me was as follows:

*American Ships on the Coast of Peru and Chili.*

Ship Fame,	Captain Coffin,
Lion,	Clarke,
John and James,	Clasby,
John Jay,	Coffin,
Criterion,	Clark,



Ship Samuel,	Captain Coleman,
Sterling,	Swain,
Henry,	Gardner,
William Penn,	W. Gardner,
President,	Folger,
Sukey,	Macey,
Perseverando,	Paddock,
Monticello,	Coffin,
Atlas,	Joy,
Gardner,	Ray,
Chili,	Gardner,
Lima,	Swain,
Renown,	Barnard,
George,	Worth,
Charles,	Gardner,
Barclay,	Randall,
Walker,	West,
Thomas,	Whipple, (doubtful.)

*British Ships on the Coast of Peru and Chili.*

Ship Nimrod,	Captain Perry, no figure head,
Perseverance,	King, a figure head,
Seringapatam,	Stivers, a figure head,
Carleton,	Allero, a figure head,
Catharine,	Folger, a figure head,
Thames,	Bomon,
Greenwich,	_____
Montezuma,	Baxter,
Rose,	Monroe, has a poop,
Sirius,	Has a figure head, is a low ship.

These were all the vessels the names of which they could at the moment recollect; but they assured me that the number of British whalers now on the coast of Chili and Peru, did not amount to less than twenty, all fine ships of not less than four hundred tons burthen; and that their cargoes in England would be worth two hundred thousand dollars each, which, agreeable to this estimate, would be upwards of four millions of British property now exposed to us; for I did not conceive that their whole force united would be a match for the Essex. Besides the capture and

destruction of those vessels, I had another object in view, of no less importance, which was the protection of the American whale-ships; and if I should only succeed in driving the British from the ocean, and leaving it free for our own vessels, I conceive that I shall have rendered an essential service to my country, and that the effecting this object alone would be a sufficient compensation for the hardships and dangers we have experienced, and be considered a justification for departing from the letter of my instructions. That I can effect this, no doubts exist, provided the Standard has left Lima; and this it is necessary I should be informed of before I make my attack on the Galapagos, for I have knowledge of letters having been written to Lima by an active English merchant (perhaps an agent of the British government) residing at Valparaiso. They were sent by the ships which sailed four days before us; but as they had the reputation of being bad sailers, and calculating some on Spanish indolence, and much on our own activity and industry, I am in hopes of looking into Lima before they can arrive there; and shall so disguise the ship that she cannot be known there from any description that the aforesaid letters may contain. Until information respecting the Standard can be obtained, all my proceedings must be governed by views toward that vessel, she being the only vessel of war the British have in those seas, and I can have but little apprehension of being pursued by any from the Atlantic for some months, or at least until I have time to do them much injury. Although information had been sent from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso of my being on the coast of Brazils, and this information had reached Valparaiso two weeks before my arrival, yet they could not have had an idea of my intention of coming into this sea, as it was unknown to every person but myself until after passing the River of Plate. The same mail that brought intelligence of my being on the coast of Brazils, also gave an account of an action having been fought off Bahia between the American frigate Constitution and the British frigate Java of forty-four guns, in which the latter was sunk; also of the capture of her convoy; and of some small place on the coast of Africa having been laid under contribution by the squadron under the command of commodore Rodgers. It was also stated that the Wasp, an American sloop of war,

had captured a British sloop of war after a hard-fought action, but had afterwards been captured by a frigate; and that the Constitution was repairing her damages at St. Salvador, where the British admiral (Dixon) had proceeded, with a determination of destroying her. This news of the operations of our little navy makes us pant for an opportunity of doing something ourselves. We have, however, a wide field for enterprise before us, and shall shortly enter on the scene of action; and although, perhaps, we shall neither have an opportunity of laying towns under contribution, nor sinking frigates, still we hope to render a service to our country no less essential, to wit: the protection of our commerce, and the destruction of that of the enemy.

On the 28th I made all sail to the northward, and on the 3d of April made the high lands of Nasia, on the coast of Peru. The interval between these two periods was not marked by any extraordinary occurrence. We were employed in taking all advantages of the winds in getting to the northward, and in disguising our ship, which was done by painting her in such a manner as to conceal her real force, and exhibiting in its stead the appearance of painted guns, &c.; also by giving her the appearance of having a poop, and otherwise so altering her as to make her look like a Spanish merchant vessel. The winds were constantly fair; the weather remarkably clear, fine, and temperate; the sea smooth; and every thing favourable for making such little repairs and alterations as the ship required.

Immediately on passing the tropic, we met with flying-fish: this is the first we met with since we left the coast of Brazil.

At six o'clock of the 28th, we were abreast the island of Sangallan, or St. Gallan, when I hauled off to the northwest, with a view of crossing the track of vessels bound to Callao. On the morning of the 29th, to the great joy of all on board, we discovered three sail standing in for the harbour, two to windward and one to leeward. I consequently made all sail for the port to cut them off, and, as I approached the headmost vessel, she seemed to answer the description I had received of the Barclay. As she was nearest to the port, I determined to turn all my attention to her, and to use every effort to prevent her getting in; but as she ap-



approached the island of St. Lorenzo, which lies off the port of Callao, I began to despair of succeeding. I however directed all the light sails to be wet, in order to make them hold wind the better, and prepared my boats to send in to bring her out of the harbour, if she should succeed in getting past the island. As I approached St. Lorenzo, I discovered that she would be becalmed so soon as she doubled the point of the island, as she eventually was. We were, at the moment of her turning the point, at the distance of two miles and a half from her, but shot in with the breeze to within one hundred yards of her, then lowered the boats down, and sent on board to tow her out, which was not effected without considerable labour, in consequence of an indraught. As we were but a short distance from the shipping in the harbour, and perceiving the two Spanish vessels had not arrived from Valparaiso, I hoisted English colours on board the Essex, and directed the officer of the captured vessel (which proved to be the Barclay) to hoist English colours over the American. The vessels in port, which were numerous, now hoisted their colours, which were all Spanish except one British flag hoisted on board an armed ship, which did not answer the description of the Nimrod. The other strange vessels continued standing in; one of them had the appearance of a coasting brig, the other a fine looking ship; and we were induced to believe her the Nimrod, from the description we had received of that vessel. I therefore took a position to prevent her passing the point, when she hauled her wind to go between the island and main, where there is a passage for ships of large burthen, but shortly afterwards bore up, under a press of sail, to run by us, and on his near approach I perceived it to be one of the Spanish vessels that had sailed from Valparaiso before us. I felt satisfied that we had so altered the vessel, that they could not know us; besides, how was it possible that they could expect to find the Essex off Callao, when they left her at Valparaiso, beginning to take in provisions and water? On her getting into the calms under the lee of the island, I despatched a boat to get the news from her, but recalled her on seeing the guard-boat go on board. I now sent for the captain of the Barclay, (Randall,) informed him he was at liberty to act as he thought proper with respect to his ship, and that, although his crew had entered

with me, they might return to the Barclay, if they were disposed to do so. But as they expressed their determination not to return to that ship, the captain informed me he was entirely at a loss what course to pursue, and asked my advice. I at the moment felt as much embarrassment as he; for he was without hands, except two or three who were down with the scurvy, having been constantly at sea for seven months without refreshments. No port on the coast of Peru could afford him a shelter, as our destruction of the armament of the *Nereyda*, in consequence of the capture of the Barclay, would render the condemnation of that vessel highly probable, if she should again be in the power of the Peruvians; and if the remainder of his crew were all healthy, they would not be strong enough to take her to Valparaiso, or any other port of Chili, even if there was nothing to be apprehended from capture by British and Peruvian vessels. I however concluded to give him all the protection in my power, and advised him to remain by me, offering to put on board hands enough to work his vessel, and promised not to leave him until I had put him in a place of safety. With this promise he appeared much pleased, and offered his services to me in any way he could prove useful, giving me assurances that he could take me where the British whale-vessels most frequented, advising me, by all means, to proceed to the islands of Gallipagos, keeping at the distance of from thirty to fifty leagues from the land, and on my way looking into Payta. He confirmed, in every respect, the information respecting the British whalers that I had formerly received, and assured me that there were many other vessels of that description, and others engaged in contraband trade, now on the coast; he had no doubt we could find as many as we could conveniently man, among the islands, as well as the American vessels they might have captured. After putting on board the Barclay midshipman Cowan and eight men, and fixing on Payta and the Gallipagos as the places of rendezvous, in case of separation, also furnishing him with suitable signals, and giving him instructions to steer such courses as would enable us to spread over as much ground as possible in our track, I shaped my course to the W. N. W., to run between the rocks of Pelado and the Ilormigas, which lies about thirty miles from Callao.

The town of Callao is the seaport of Lima, from which the latter is distant about three leagues. Callao is an open road-stead; but as the wind here always blows from the southward, and never with violence, and as it is well sheltered from this quarter by the projecting capes, and by the island of St. Lorenzo, it is considered in this sea as one of the safest harbours for vessels. In this place all the trade of Peru centres; it is apparently well fortified by batteries on shore, and is said to be well protected, in addition to those, by a formidable flotilla of gunboats. The calms which appear to prevail in the bay seem to render this mode of defence very proper; and if this is the case, it must be very dangerous for hostile vessels to venture beyond the island of St. Lorenzo. Off the point of St. Lorenzo is a very suitable station for a vessel blockading Callao, as she can there, in consequence of the calms, prevent every vessel from going in, as she can run in and have the breeze at the distance of half gun-shot of them, after they have doubled the point, and while they are perfectly becalmed; in this situation, exposed to her guns, the boats can take possession and tow them out.

While we lay to here, I observed the sea filled with small red specks, and supposed at first that some hog had been killed on board, and that part of the blood was floating along side; but on a close examination I perceived them to have at times a very quick motion, and on directing some of them to be caught in a bucket, discovered them to be young craw-fish, of different sizes, but generally from one inch in length to one tenth that size. The ocean appeared filled with them; and from the immense number of birds that kept about this spot, I am induced to believe that no small number of them were daily devoured. They did not appear to be governed by any general laws, each one pursuing his own course, and shifting for himself; no two appearing in the same direction; and it is probable that, as soon as they left the egg, each one began to seek his own subsistence. Two of them were put into a bottle of sea-water, and on some crumbs of bread being thrown in, they seized and devoured them very ravenously.

About this time I concluded to change the water in which the fish had been put, that was pumped out of the cask off Cape Horn. To this period it had been very live-



ly; but perceiving the water to have a yellow tinge, and feeling apprehensive that it might undergo fermentation, from the food which had at different times been thrown in, I supposed that pure water would be better than that in which it had been so long confined, but concluded it best to produce a gradual change. With this view I put into the bottle about one gill of the water we had taken on board at Valparaiso. The water in the bottle gradually assumed a milky appearance, and next morning I found the fish dead and floating on the surface. This confirmed suspicions we had before entertained of the bad qualities of this water. Doctor Miller, who was in a very low state of health, and had been so ever since he joined the *Essex*, complained of its producing costiveness. I also, and many others, experienced the same effect; it has a disagreeable, brackish taste, and it is with great difficulty it can be made to mix with soap.

On the evening of the 4th, James Spafford, the gunner's mate, who had been so unfortunately wounded by accident at Mocha, departed this life, regretted by every officer and man in the ship. He had distinguished himself by his moral and correct conduct under my command, and I had intended promoting him to a better situation, so soon as circumstances would admit.

I conceived it necessary to hold an inquest over his body, as well to satisfy the crew, and to remove every erroneous impression on the subject, as to relieve the officer himself, who had been the unfortunate cause of the death of this poor fellow. I consequently issued the following order:

United States frigate *Essex*, at sea,  
April 5, 1813.

An inquest is hereby directed to be held on the body of James Spafford, in order to ascertain by what manner he came by his death; and to this object lieutenant Downes, lieutenant Wilmer, lieutenant Wilson, and lieutenant Gamble, will obtain all possible information on the subject; and, assisted by Mr. Shaw, will draw up a statement of facts, in order that I may be enabled to judge whether farther proceedings should be had in the case of the officer who is supposed to be the unfortunate cause.

They are authorized to summon such of the officers and crew as may be necessary for their purpose; and they are

directed to give all the solemnity to the inquiry that circumstances will admit of.

(Signed) D. PORTER.

After the officers composing the inquest had obtained every satisfactory information on the subject, they drew up and sent me a report, from which the following is an extract:

"Having examined the witnesses as above, we beg leave to express our full belief that the death of James Spafford was caused by an *accidental* shot, fired by ; and are of opinion that farther proceedings in the case of the unfortunate officer are entirely unnecessary.

(Signed)

JOHN DOWNES,  
JAMES P. WILMER,  
JAMES WILSON,  
JOHN GAMBLE.

*United States frigate Essex, at sea,  
April 5, 1813.*

After this the body of Spafford was committed to the deep, according to the funeral ceremonies of the church.

We, as I before observed, steered to the W. N. W., and at two P. M. on the 6th, the man at the mast-head cried out a sail; but on standing toward it, in a short time discovered it to be the Rock of Pelado, bearing N. E. by N. We soon gave up the chase and stood on our course, as I was anxious to get an offing to fall in with the track of whalers, as, from the best information I could collect on this subject, on this part of the coast they keep at the distance of from thirty to fifty leagues.

At half past three, a sail was discovered from the mast-head, bearing W. N. W., and we immediately made all sail in chase of her, the Barclay making every exertion to keep up with us; but by sundown we had run her out of sight astern. At seven o'clock we brought the chase to. She proved to be a Spanish brig from Callao, bound to Concepcion, but had taken in a load of salt at Oucho, a place a short distance to the north of Callao. The captain and supercargo of this vessel both came on board, and supposing the Essex to be an English vessel, were disposed to give us every information in their power; and, what was

of the utmost importance to us, they informed me that an English frigate had been for some time expected at Callao from Cadiz, for the purpose of taking in money; and that the money which was to compose her cargo was nearly all collected. He also informed me that an English armed ship had put in there in distress a few days since, having sprung a-leak; that two English whale-ships had, within a few days, sailed from thence; that they had been sent in for adjudication by the corsairs of Peru, and on examination had been liberated. On inquiry respecting the disposition of the government of Peru towards those of the United States and Great Britain, they informed me that the latter was held in high repute, and its vessels treated with great civility, in consequence of being the allies of Spain; but that the former were held in very little estimation; and that, although war had not actually taken place between Spain and the United States, it was momentarily expected, and every preparation was made in Peru to meet it; that the Americans were notorious violators of their revenue laws, (*grandes contrabandistas*,) and neither received nor expected much civility; however, it was the policy of the government of Peru to hold out ideas and the appearance of a strict neutrality, and therefore British vessels were not allowed to dispose of their prizes at Callao. The supercargo of this vessel appeared to be a man of considerable intelligence; and when I inquired where was the most suitable place to proceed to give protection to British vessels, and annoy those of the United States, he advised me to go to leeward, observing that the Gallipagos Islands were much frequented by the British whale-ships, and between that and the latitude of the Lobos Islands, I should most likely find many Americans, as the sea thereabouts was full of them. The Barclay was now a great distance astern; but as we ran to the northward under easy sail after leaving the Spaniard, and made flashes at intervals, she was enabled to join us by midnight.

At daylight in the morning, we stretched away to the westward, leaving the Barclay to steer to the northward, and spread to such a distance as just to see her signals, and closed again at night. This course we pursued until our arrival off Cape Ajugia, where we arrived on the morning of the 10th, and in the course of our run saw but two vessels, only one of which we spoke, knowing them to be Spa-



niards. She was a small brig from Guyaquil, bound to the southward, and could give us no information whatever. In our run we passed near to the islands of Lobos de la Mare, and Lobos de la Terre; they are two small islands, situated some distance from the continent, and at the distance of five leagues from each other, bearing N. N. W. and S. S. E.; they appear to be perfectly destitute of vegetation, and serve as a residence to an immense number of birds, with which the hills were covered. There can be no doubt that an abundance of seals may be caught on them, as in passing we were surrounded with them, one of which we struck with the harpoon. The sea was here also covered with pelicans, and various other aquatic birds, feeding on the schools of small fish, which were to be seen in great numbers, constantly pursued by seals, bonetas, and porpoises; and such as attempted to escape their ravenous jaws by jumping out of the water, were immediately snapped up by the innumerable swarms of birds that were hovering over them.

On our arrival off Ajugia, we had another opportunity of witnessing a similar scene; and as the water was perfectly smooth and the winds light, we were enabled to examine it more minutely. We discovered the sea boiling violently in many places, and wherever this was the case, vast numbers of seals, large fish, and birds, were apparently in pursuit of small fish. On approaching one of these places, the water had so much the appearance of having been put into action by violent currents, opposed by sunken rocks, that I felt some uneasiness, and directed the helm to be put a-weather to avoid it; however, the next one had the same appearance, and was equally attended by fish. I therefore steered close to it, and saw that in the centre of the agitated spot (which bore the appearance of water boiling in a pot) were myriads of small fish, collected together, and appeared as though it were impossible for them to escape from this violent whirlpool, which was so powerful as to affect considerably the steerage of the ship. Whether this boiling of the water was occasioned by the vast numbers of seals and large fish which kept constantly darting in among the small fry, which were drawn as it were to a focus, I will not pretend to say. It is possible, however, that whales, or some fish perhaps nearly as large as whales,

which did not show themselves above the surface, might also have been concerned in the pursuit, and occasioned the agitation that so much surprised us; for I cannot think it possible that the seals and bonetas, numerous as they were, could have produced so violent a commotion.

A breeze springing up, we stood away for Payta, with a view of looking into that port, and at sunset were in sight of the island of Lobos, which lies a short distance to the southward, where we hove to for the Barclay to come up, as we had nearly run her out of sight; and, after speaking her, stretched off under easy sail, and at two o'clock in the morning made sail in shore. The weather at sunrise was hazy, and prevented us for some time from seeing the saddle of Payta, which is a remarkably irregular mountain to the south of Payta, and when once seen cannot be mistaken, the highest part making something like a saddle, and running away to a low point to the northward, which is the point forming the harbour of Payta. As we stood in shore we discovered two small sail coming out, and as we approached them were at a loss to know what to make of them; but at last discovered them to be rafts or catamarans, steering by the wind, having each six men to work them. I had at first believed them to be fishing rafts from Payta, but was surprised they should have ventured so great a distance from the land, as we were, when we spoke them, about seven leagues off shore, and was induced, from their strange appearance, to visit them. On going along side, I learnt, to my astonishment, that they were from Guayaquil, with cargoes of cocoa, bound to Guacho, a port to leeward of Lima, and had already been out thirty days. They were destitute of water, and had no other provisions on board than a few rotten plantains. We, however, perceived a number of fish bones and pieces of fish scattered about the rafts, which induced us to believe that they were enabled to catch an abundance of fish, which no doubt follow them to get the small barnacles and grass with which the logs were plentifully supplied. Nothing can exceed the miserable construction of these floats. Eight logs of from twenty-five to thirty feet in length, with the bark scarcely taken off, and three pieces lashed across with a kind of grass rope, to form the floor; each side is formed of two logs, laid one on another, and the deck is composed of rough

logs laid crosswise, and projecting from four to six feet beyond the sides, and all lashed (though very insecurely) together. Forward and aft are some pieces of board from three to four feet in length, stuck down between the logs forming the floor, and serving as a substitute for a keel. A mast is stepped in between the logs of the floor, and, instead of partners, secured by a lashing from side to side, and having the additional security of a stay and a shroud, which is shifted always to the weather side, and to this is hoisted a large lug-sail made of cotton. Their ground tackling consists of some bark, twisted in the form of a rope, which serves as a cable, and a large stone with a stick lashed to it, of about eighteen inches long, for a stock, serves as an anchor; she is steered by a paddle, carries her cargo on the logs forming the deck, and has as a substitute for a caboose, a small quantity of dirt thrown on the logs that project beyond the sides forward. The crews appear equally as miserable in their appearance as the machine they navigate; and it excited no little surprise in our minds when we were informed, that the navigation from Guyaquil to Lima, a distance of about six hundred miles, against a constant head wind, and frequently rapid current, should be very common with those rafts. This passage takes them two months; and there can be no stronger proof of the mildness of this ocean, so justly, in this part, deserving the name of the Pacific, than the fact, that the loss of those vessels, frail as they are, is very uncommon. Nor can there be a more convincing instance of the unenlightened state of the people of this part of the world, than that they should continue the use of such barbarous vessels, when the fastest sailing vessels are so necessary; where materials for building them are so abundant; and where the state of the climate will admit of vessels of such construction as best suits their purpose, without any apprehensions of danger from the violence of the sea. But so far are they behind hand in civilization and intelligence with the rest of the world, that the appearance of all the vessels built on the Spanish coast of the Pacific (except the few built at Guyaquil) bespeaks the extreme ignorance of the constructor as well as the navigator. There are established at Guyaquil some European constructors, who have built large vessels that have been justly admired in Europe and other parts of



the world ; but nothing, except the catamarans, can be more clumsy in their appearance, and apparently more unsuitable to the navigation of this ocean, than the miserable vessels employed in the coasting trade of Peru.

The two catamarans above mentioned had looked into the harbour of Payta, and were consequently enabled to give me all the intelligence I required. They informed me there were no vessels lying there except two or three small coasting vessels ; and as there was now no necessity for showing ourselves before that place, I shaped my course for the Gallipagos Islands, directing the Barclay to steer W. N. W. by compass, in order that we might fall in with the latitude to the eastward of them, intimating to her commander that I should, from time to time, so vary from this course as to look over as much ground in our way as possible. This method we put in practice until we made Chatham Island, which was on the morning of the 17th. During our run we had no opportunity of correcting our dead reckoning by lunar observations, nor have we had a chance of ascertaining the rate of the chronometer since leaving St. Catharines. We were enabled to discover by our latitude that we had a current of fifteen miles per twenty-four hours, setting to the northward ; and from the violent ripples we frequently met with, were induced to believe that its rate was much greater, and concluded it to set also westerly. On our making the land, found we had, since taking our departure from Payta, been set two degrees a-head of our reckoning. We employed ourselves during our passage in getting the magazine in good order for service, as we had been led to expect some resistance from the heavy armed letters of marque that we hoped to meet among the Gallipagos, employed in the whale-fishery. Having understood that calms were very prevalent there, we prepared our boats in the best manner for attacking them, selecting crews for them in addition to their oarsmen ; and laid down plans of attack, and established signals for them. The whole, amounting to seven boats, carrying seventy men, were placed under the command of lieutenant Downes.

I discovered that we should meet with great delays from the prevalence of calms ; and as I could form no plans for future operations until my arrival at the general rendezvous of the whalers, I considered it advisable to put the

crew on two quarts of water per day. This reduction was now severely felt, as the weather was extremely hot; but all seemed reconciled to bear every privation without a murmur. The health of the crew had improved in a remarkable manner since leaving Valparaiso, and at this time we had but two men on the sick list, one affected by chronic debility, the other by a pain in the muscles of the neck, but neither disabled from coming to their quarters. Doctor Miller, the surgeon of the ship, a very infirm man, who was in a deep consumption when he joined the ship, and whose health had not improved on board her, requested permission to go with his servant on board the Barclay, and there remain, as he believed that a change of water, pure air, and greater tranquillity, would render his situation more tolerable. As the extreme debility of the gentleman prevented him from doing his duty on board, and as he was constantly complaining of his sufferings from the confined air of this ship, I was happy he had fallen on an expedient to render his existence more supportable, and took the first opportunity of sending him on board the Barclay, where he soon found himself more comfortably situated than amidst the noise and confusion of a man of war, for which his low state of health entirely unsuited him.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE GALLIPAGOS ISLANDS; PRIZES.

ON our first making Chatham Island, which bore, on the morning of the 17th, northwest by north, distant about thirty-five miles, I supposed it to be Hood's Island, a common stopping-place for whalers. As this was one of the islands I was desirous of examining for them, I hauled in for it, making a signal for the Barclay to do the same; but shortly afterwards discovered Hood's Island bearing west, and bore away for it. At seven o'clock in the evening, we were abreast the anchorage place on the northwest part of the island, which is a good shelter from the prevalent winds; and a small island which lies off forms a secure bay, where vessels lie at anchor in twelve fathoms water, clear white sandy bottom. Here wood is to be obtained, and land tortoises in great numbers, which are highly esteemed for their excellence, and are remarkable for their size, weighing from three to four hundred weight each. Vessels on whaling voyages among these islands generally take on board from two to three hundred of these animals, and stow them in the hold, where, strange as it may appear, they have been known to live for a year, without food or water, and, when killed at the expiration of that time, found greatly improved in fatness and flavour. Into this bay I sent lieutenant Downes with a whale-boat (I had purchased from captain Randall) properly armed, to reconnoitre, and directed him to make a signal on discovering vessels, in order that we might send in our other boats; but at ten o'clock he returned, after having sounded the bay without seeing any. We had entertained strong hopes of meeting enemy's vessels here, but bore the disappointment better than might be expected, considering the length of time that has elapsed since we have seen one of that description. We now hauled off toward Chatham Island, and lay to for the night, as I did not think it prudent to run for Charles' Island, the next place I intended to visit, until I could have



day-light, as a reef is said to exist about two leagues to the W. N. W. of Hood's Island, and one is known to lie about nine leagues to the west of it, both said to be very dangerous. What is calculated to render them the more so, is the violent and irregular currents, that baffle all attempts at calculation in this part of the world. In the morning I stood to the westward, with a pleasant breeze from the east, which run us, by two P. M., as far as the harbour of Charles' Island. On arriving opposite to it, we could perceive no vessels; but understanding that vessels which stopped there for refreshments, such as turtle and land tortoise, and for wood, were in the practice of depositing letters in a box placed for the purpose near the landing-place, (which is a small beach sheltered by rocks, about the middle of the bay,) I despatched lieutenant Downes to ascertain if any vessels had been lately there, and to bring off such letters as might be of use to us, if he should find any. He returned in about three hours, with several papers, taken from a box which he found nailed to a post, over which was a black sign, on which was painted *Hathaway's Postoffice*. There were none of them of a late date, but they were satisfactory, inasmuch as they confirmed the information we had already received, both as respected the practice of vessels touching there, and cruising among the other islands for whales. From those papers I obtained information, that, in June last, the following British whale-ships had put in there, on their way to the island of Albemarle, where they generally cruise for a year at a time, and some for even a longer period, to wit:

Ship Governor Dodswell, Captain B. Gardner, with 170

tons sperm oil.

Charlton,	Haleran, 120 bbls.
Nimrod,	Parray, 250 bbls.
Hector,	Richards, 220 bbls.
Atlantic,	Wyer, 1000 bbls.
Cyrus,	West, 600 bbls.

There were letters also from their commanders, giving information that the American ships *Perseveranda*, *Paddock*, and the *Sukey*, *Macey*, the first with two hundred, the latter with one hundred and fifty barrels of sperm oil, had touched there. Considering Captain Macey's letter as a

rare specimen of orthography, I hope I shall be pardoned for giving an exact copy of it.

June 14th 1812.

Ship Sukey John Macy 7½ Months out 150 Barrels 75 days from Lima No oil Since Leaving that Port. Span-yards Very Savage Lost on the Braziel Bank John Sealin Apprentice to Capt Benjamin Worth Fell from the fore top sail Yard In A Gale of Wind. Left Diana Capt paddock 14 day Since 250 Barrels I Leave this port this Day With 250 Turpen 8 Boat Load Wood Yesterday Went Up to Patts Landing East Side. to the Starboard hand of the Landing 1½ Miles Saw 100 Turpen 20 Rods A part Road Very Bad

Yours Forevir

JOHN MACY.

Charles' Island affords the same inducements for vessels to touch at as Hood's Island, except that the harbour is not so good. It is formed on the northwest part by a projecting point, off which lies a remarkably high, black, ragged rock, which, from its appearance, I have been induced to call *Rock Dismal*. Shipping lie in twelve fathoms, beyond the small reef which shelters the landing; the bottom is sandy, but vessels have had their cables cut by scattering rocks. The landing here is very good; and, at the time lieutenant Downes was on shore, a torrent of very fine water, many feet deep, discharged itself near the beach; but as it was raining constantly while he was on shore, and the mountains were completely capt with the clouds, added to which, as the banks of the deep ravine, worn away by the stream, clearly showed that the torrent had subsided ten feet within a very short period, it was evident to us, that this stream owed its existence to temporary rains alone. This opinion was not only confirmed by those on board the Essex who had been there before, but by some person who had bountifully left on the island, near the postoffice, several articles for such persons as might be there in distress, among which was a cask of water. It is known that in the centre of the island is a small spring of water, which a stranger might not be acquainted with, or, if he had a knowledge of it, might not have strength to reach; but if

the stream in question existed constantly, where would be the necessity of leaving this cask of water along side of it?

This island is mountainous, (as are the whole group,) and is covered with trees from fifteen to twenty feet in height, scattered with considerable regularity, as to distance and appearance, on the sides of the hills, which all have evident marks of volcanic origin; but what seems remarkable is, that every tree on the island, at least all that could be approached by the boat's crew on shore, and such as we could perceive by means of our perspectives, was dead and withered. This must have been occasioned by the prevalence of an excessive drought, which entirely deprived them of the necessary moisture. As this island is not of so great an elevation as many others, which has probably been the cause of its suffering more than the larger and higher ones, though they all seem more or less affected from the same cause; and as all the trees on the islands I have yet seen, appear much of the same size, not excepting those in the most flourishing state, it seems not improbable, that the drought has not only been recent, but that it has affected the whole at the same time. As the whole group is destitute of trees of a large size, it seems reasonable to believe, that their vegetation may be checked at different periods by very dry seasons. To this cause may be owing their being deprived of streams of water; for although it seldom rains on shore, and never at sea here, yet the tops of the mountains are almost constantly covered with thick clouds, great part of the moisture from which, instead of being soaked up by the light and spongy soil of the mountains, would find its way in running streams to the sea, were the islands sufficiently furnished with trees to condense more constantly the atmosphere, and interlace their roots to prevent its escape into the bowels of the mountains.

These islands are all evidently of volcanic production; every mountain and hill is the crater of an extinguished volcano; and thousands of smaller fissures, which have burst from their sides, give them the most dreary, desolate, and inhospitable appearance imaginable. The description of one island will answer for all I have yet seen; they appear unsuited for the residence of man, or any other



animal that cannot, like the tortoises, live without food, or draw its subsistence entirely from the sea.

Lieutenant Downes saw on the rocks with which the bay was in many parts skirted, several seals and pelicans, some of which he killed; but, on searching diligently the shore, was unable to find any land tortoises, though they no doubt abound in other parts of the island. Doves were seen in great numbers, and were so easily approached, that several of them were knocked over with stones. While our boat was on shore, captain Randall sent his boat to a small beach in the same bay, about a mile from where our boat landed, and in a short time she returned loaded with fine green turtle, two of which he sent us, and we found them excellent. It may be seen by captain Macy's letter, that on the east side of the island there is another landing, which he calls Pat's landing; and this place will probably immortalize an Irishman, named Patrick Watkins, who some years since left an English ship, and took up his abode on this island, and built himself a miserable hut, about a mile from the landing called after him, in a valley containing about two acres of ground capable of cultivation, and perhaps the only spot on the island which affords sufficient moisture for the purpose. Here he succeeded in raising potatoes and pumpkins in considerable quantities, which he generally exchanged for rum, or sold for cash. The appearance of this man, from the accounts I have received of him, was the most dreadful that can be imagined; ragged clothes, scarce sufficient to cover his nakedness, and covered with vermin; his red hair and beard matted, his skin much burnt, from constant exposure to the sun, and so wild and savage in his manner and appearance, that he struck every one with horror. For several years this wretched being lived by himself on this desolate spot, without any apparent desire than that of procuring rum in sufficient quantities to keep himself intoxicated, and, at such times, after an absence from his hut of several days, he would be found in a state of perfect insensibility, rolling among the rocks of the mountains. He appeared to be reduced to the lowest grade of which human nature is capable, and seemed to have no desire beyond the tortoises and other animals of the island, except that of getting drunk. But this man, wretched and miserable as he may have appeared, was neither destitute of ambition, nor

incapable of undertaking an enterprise that would have appalled the heart of any other man ; nor was he devoid of the talent of rousing others to second his hardihood.

He by some means became possessed of an old musket, and a few charges of powder and ball ; and the possession of this weapon probably first stimulated his ambition. He felt himself strong as the sovereign of the island, and was desirous of proving his strength on the first human being that fell in his way, which happened to be a negro, who was left in charge of a boat belonging to an American ship that had touched there for refreshments. Patrick came down to the beach where the boat lay, armed with his musket, now become his constant companion, directed the negro, in an authoritative manner, to follow him, and on his refusal, snapped his musket at him twice, which luckily missed fire. The negro, however, became intimidated, and followed him. Patrick now shouldered his musket, marched off before, and on his way up the mountains exultingly informed the negro he was henceforth to work for him, and become his slave, and that his good or bad treatment would depend on his future conduct. On arriving at a narrow defile, and perceiving Patrick off his guard, the negro seized the moment, grasped him in his arms, threw him down, tied his hands behind, shouldered him, and carried him to his boat, and when the crew had arrived he was taken on board the ship. An English smuggler was lying in the harbour at the same time, the captain of which sentenced Patrick to be severely whipped on board both vessels, which was put in execution, and he was afterwards taken on shore handcuffed by the Englishmen, who compelled him to make known where he had concealed the few dollars he had been enabled to accumulate from the sale of his potatoes and pumpkins, which they took from him. But while they were busy in destroying his hut and garden, the wretched being made his escape, and concealed himself among the rocks in the interior of the island, until the ship had sailed, when he ventured from his hiding-place, and by means of an old file, which he drove into a tree, freed himself from the handcuffs. He now meditated a severe revenge, but concealed his intentions. Vessels continued to touch there, and Patrick, as usual, to furnish them with vegetables ; but from time to time he was ena-

bled, by administering potent draughts of his darling liquor to some of the men of their crews, and getting them so drunk that they were rendered insensible, to conceal them until the ship had sailed; when, finding themselves entirely dependent on him, they willingly enlisted under his banners, became his slaves, and he the most absolute of tyrants. By this means he had augmented the number to five, including himself, and every means was used by him to endeavour to procure arms for them, but without effect. It is supposed that his object was to have surprised some vessel, massacred her crew, and taken her off. While Patrick was meditating his plans, two ships, an American and an English vessel, touched there, and applied to Patrick for vegetables. He promised them the greatest abundance, provided they would send their boats to his landing, and their people to bring them from his garden, informing them that his rascals had become so indolent of late, that he could not get them to work. This arrangement was agreed to; two boats were sent from each vessel, and hauled on the beach. Their crews all went to Patrick's habitation, but neither he nor any of his people were to be found; and, after waiting until their patience was exhausted, they returned to the beach, where they found only the wreck of three of their boats, which were broken to pieces, and the fourth one missing. They succeeded, however, after much difficulty, in getting around to the bay opposite to their ships, where other boats were sent to their relief; and the commanders of the ships, apprehensive of some other trick, saw no security except in a flight from the island, leaving Patrick and his gang in quiet possession of the boat. But before they sailed, they put a letter in a keg, giving intelligence of the affair, and moored it in the bay, where it was found by captain Randall, but not until he had sent his boat to Patrick's landing, for the purpose of procuring refreshments; and, as may be easily supposed, he felt no little inquietude until her return, when she brought him a letter from Patrick to the following purport, which was found in his hut.

SIR,

I have made repeated applications to captains of vessels to sell me a boat, or to take me from this place, but in eve-



ry instance met with a refusal. An opportunity presented itself to possess myself of one, and I took advantage of it. I have been a long time endeavouring, by hard labour and suffering, to accumulate wherewith to make myself comfortable; but at different times have been robbed and maltreated, and in a late instance by captain Paddock, whose conduct in punishing me, and robbing me of about five hundred dollars, in cash and other articles, neither agrees with the principles he professes, nor is it such as his sleek coat would lead one to expect.\*

On the 29th of May, 1809, I sail from the enchanted island in the Black Prince, bound to the Marquesas.

Do not kill the old hen; she is now sitting, and will soon have chickens.

(Signed)

FATHERLESS OBERLUS.

Patrick arrived alone at Guyaquil in his open boat, the rest who sailed with him having perished for want of water, or, as is generally supposed, were put to death by him on his finding the water to grow scarce. From thence he proceeded to Payta, where he wound himself into the affection of a tawny damsel, and prevailed on her to consent to accompany him back to his enchanted island, the beauties of which he no doubt painted in glowing colours; but, from his savage appearance, he was there considered by the police as a suspicious person, and being found under the keel of a small vessel then ready to be launched, and suspected of some improper intentions, he was confined in Payta gaol, where he now remains; and probably owing to this circumstance Charles' island, as well as the rest of the Gallipagos, may remain unpopulated for many ages to come. This reflection may naturally lead us to a consideration of the question concerning the population of the other islands scattered about the Pacific ocean, respecting which so many conjectures have been hazarded. I shall only hazard one, which is briefly this: that former ages may have produced men equally as bold and as daring as Pat, and women as willing as his fair one to accompany them in their adventurous voyages. And when we consider the issue which might be produced from a union between a red-haired wild Irishman, and a copper-coloured mixt-blooded squaw, we

\* Captain Paddock was of the Society of Friends.

need not be any longer surprised at the different varieties in human nature.

If Patrick should be liberated from durance, and arrive with his love at this enchanting spot, perhaps (when neither he nor the Gallipagos are any longer remembered) some future navigator may surprise the world by a discovery of them, and his accounts of the strange people with which they may probably be inhabited. From the source from which they shall have sprung, it does not seem unlikely that they will have one trait in their character which is common to the natives of all the islands in the Pacific, a disposition to appropriate to themselves the property of others. From this circumstance, future speculators may confound their origin with that of all the rest.

We were little prepared to meet our second disappointment, in not finding vessels at Charles' Island, but consoled ourselves with the reflection that we should now soon arrive at Albemarle, and that in Banks' Bay, the general rendezvous, find an ample reward for all our loss of time, sufferings, and disappointments. As we had a fine breeze from the east, I made all sail, steering west from Charles' Island, to make the south head of Albemarle, which was distant from us about forty-five miles, and in the morning found ourselves nearly up with it. When we had arrived within eight or nine miles of a point, which I have named Point Essex, projecting to the southwest, and lying between Point Christopher and Cape Rose, the wind died away. I took my boat and proceeded for the aforesaid point, where I arrived in about two hours after leaving the ship, and found in a small bay, behind some rocks which terminate the point, a very good landing, where we went on shore, and to our great surprise and no little alarm, on entering the bushes, found myriads of guanias, of an enormous size and the most hideous appearance imaginable. The rocks forming the cove were also covered with them, and, from their taking to the water very readily, we were induced to believe them a distinct species from those found among the keys of the West Indies. In some spots a half acre of ground would be so completely covered with them as to appear as though it was impossible for another to get in the space; they would all keep their eyes fixed constantly on us, and we at first supposed them prepared to attack us. We soon, how-

ever, discovered them to be the most timid of animals, and in a few moments knocked down hundreds of them with our clubs, some of which we brought on board, and found to be excellent eating, and many preferred them greatly to the turtle.

We found on the beach a few seals, and one fine large green turtle; but as the boat was small, and the distance to row very great, I concluded on leaving it, as I did not wish to encumber her with its weight. Several of the seals were killed by our men, and proved of that kind which do not produce the fur. Nothing can be more sluggish nor more inactive than this animal while on the sand; it appears incapable of making any exertions whatever to escape those in pursuit of it, and quietly waits the blow which terminates its existence. A small blow on the nose will kill them in an instant; but when they are in the water, or even on the rocks, nothing can exceed their activity: they seem then to be a different animal altogether; shy, cunning, and very alert in pursuit of their prey, and in avoiding pursuit; they are then very difficult to take. We also found plenty of birds called shags, which did not appear alarmed in the slightest degree at our approach, and numbers of them were knocked down by our people with clubs, and taken on board. These, with the exception of some other aquatic birds, and some large lizards with red heads, and a species of crab, were the only animals we found on this spot. After trying in vain to catch some fish, we left the cove and proceeded along the shore to the northward, with the expectation of finding another landing-place, but were much disappointed; for, after rowing as far as Point Christopher, a distance of fifteen miles, we found the shore every where bound with craggy rocks, against which the sea broke with inconceivable violence. The rocks were every where covered with seals, penguins, guanias, and pelicans, and the sea filled with green turtle, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had we been enabled to take them into our boat; for we sometimes rowed right against them, without their making any exertion to get out of our way. Multitudes of enormous sharks were swimming about us, and from time to time caused us no little uneasiness, from the ferocious manner in which they came at the boat and snapped at our oars; for she was of the lightest con-



struction, with remarkably thin plank, and a gripe from one of those would have torn them from her timbers. But we guarded as much as lay in our power against the danger, by thrusting boarding-pikes into them as they came up.

As we proceeded along shore, and when we had arrived at a black gravelly beach, within about five miles of Point Christopher, we saw the shore covered with the wreck of some vessel, which, from the number of pieces, apparently staves, among them, I am induced to believe was that of a whaler. But as the surf beat so high that we could not land without risking the safety of the boat, we were unable to determine whether her construction was American or British. From the appearance of the wreck, I should suppose she had not been lost more than two or three years; we could not, however, form any correct opinion on the subject, as the whole wreck consisted of a multitude of fragments, no part of the body of the vessel standing. She appears to have gone entirely to pieces, and some of her copper, &c. has been thrown a great distance among the rocks by the violence of the sea.

The water is very bold all along this coast, and the largest ship may sail within a stone's throw of it, without the least risk of touching the bottom. But yet it is not safe to approach too near the shore, as calms are very frequent here, the currents violent and irregular, with a heavy swell constantly heaving on shore; and it would be almost impossible to bring a vessel up by her anchors, before she would strike against the sides of the rocks which skirt the shore, on account of the extreme depth of the water.

Where we landed, the shore was moderately low, the soil apparently rich and moist, and the vegetation luxuriant, many of the trees being thirty feet in height, the underwood very thick, and pushing forth vigorously, and the grass as high as a man's middle. The rain appeared to be falling in torrents on the high lands, but we could see nothing that indicated the neighbourhood of a stream of water. From the landing to Point Christopher, the shores are bounded by precipices of several hundred feet in height, which are as regularly formed of strata of stones and earth, as if they had been laid by the most expert mason. The strata of stones and earth are each about two feet in thickness, and, from the base to the summit of the precipice, are

laid with surprising regularity, in lines perfectly straight and parallel.

Perceiving a breeze springing up, I hastened on board, (for I had objects in view of more importance than examining the rocky coast of this dreary place, or catching guanacs and seals,) where, on my arrival, I caused all sail to be made, and shaped my course for Narborough Island, which now began to show itself open with Point Christopher. In its appearance it bears some resemblance to a turtle's back. I was in hopes that the breeze would carry us clear of the northern point of that island before day-light, in order that we might have the whole of the next day for securing our prizes in Banks' Bay, which lies between Narborough and the south head of Albemarle, Cape Berkley. The Island of Albemarle is formed something like a crescent, the convex side lying to the west; and Narborough Island, which is nearly round, lies in the bend, forming Banks' Bay on the north and Elizabeth Bay on the south, leaving a safe passage inside from one bay to the other. To Banks' Bay the fishermen resort every year, between March and July, to take the whale, which come in there in great numbers at that season, in pursuit of the squid or cuttle fish, which are brought into the eddy formed there by the rapid currents that prevail. In this bay vessels are enabled to keep their stations, notwithstanding the currents and calms which prevail, and frequently lie for months between what is called the Turtle's Nose of Narborough and the North Head, without once being swept out. But should it so happen that they are drifted out beyond the projecting points, and fall into the northern currents, they are often a month, and even more, before they can recover their stations; and it sometimes happens that the whole fleet, which generally consists of fifteen or twenty sail, are driven as far north as the latitude of 2°, and are unable to return till the current changes. A knowledge of this now caused great uneasiness in my mind. I had formed the most sanguine expectations of meeting with great success here, and every thing seemed to justify them, but still I could not resist those anxious feelings, which cannot be repelled at such moments. We had all along calculated on reaping a rich harvest from the enemy at the Gallipagos Islands. It was the constant subject of our conversation and solicitude, and every scheme

was adopted that could prove likely to secure to us every vessel in the bay, and we did not calculate on a number less than ten or twelve. Indeed, we calculated on making more prizes there than we could man, and hoped to be thus indemnified for all loss of time, fatigues, and anxieties. For my own part, I felt the utmost desire to know the result of our visit to the Gallipagos, and at the same time a dread of disappointment, which, although possible, I did not believe probable. However, the anxiety to know as soon as possible our success or disappointment, induced me to despatch lieutenant Downes to take a look around the point of Narborough, and reconnoitre the bay; for the ships had been swept by the current, during the night, into Elizabeth Bay; and, as the wind was very light, we made very little head-way. In the course of the day, it sprung up a breeze from the southward, with which we endeavoured to beat around Narborough against a strong current; but toward night it died away, and in a few hours we lost as much ground as we had gained through the day.

At one o'clock in the morning, lieutenant Downes returned to the ship, which he was enabled to find by means of flashes made from time to time by us. He reported that he did not arrive at the north point of Narborough or Turtle's Nose, until near sundown, and that he could perceive no vessels in the bay; but observed, at the same time, that the weather was hazy, and as the bay is about thirty-five miles from side to side, and about the same depth, it was possible for vessels to have been there without his being able to observe them. We did not wish to believe that the bay was destitute of vessels; and while there was room to build a hope of meeting the enemy, we kept our spirits up with the expectation of finding them, either in the bay, or at anchor in a cove called the Basin, on the Albemarle side of the passage between Elizabeth and Banks' Bay, where the whalers frequently go to refit and wood, and get tortoises. Here, at times, a small quantity of fresh water may be obtained, but never more than sixty gallons per day, and seldom so large a quantity, and this only after heavy rains. Lieutenant Downes brought with him several turtle of a very large size, and different in their appearance either from the green, hawks-bill, loggerhead, or trunk turtle. They were shaped much like the green turtle, but



were of a black, disagreeable appearance and smell. As I was apprehensive they might produce some unpleasant consequences should they be eaten by the crew, I directed them to be thrown overboard, though many contended that they were as good and as wholesome as any others.

The winds continued light and ahead, and the current strong against us, and it was not till the afternoon of the 23d, that we were enabled to weather Narborough; but during this interval every person was anxiously looking out day and night, with the momentary expectation of seeing vessels; and so fully was I of the belief that I should fall in with an enemy that would offer some resistance, that I considered it most prudent to clear away the guns every night, and keep the hammocks stowed in the nettings, so as to be prepared for any force that might be assembled. On doubling the point of Narborough, our yards were completely manned by seamen and officers, whose anxiety had taken them aloft, all examining strictly every part of the bay, but could discover no vessels. At length the cry of *sail ho!* and shortly afterwards another, seemed to electrify every man on board, and it seemed now as if all our hopes and expectations were to be realized. But in a few minutes those illusory prospects vanished, and as sudden dejection, proceeding from disappointment, took place; for the supposed sails proved to be only white appearances on the shore. Still, however, we did not despair; we had not yet examined the basin; perhaps it might contain some vessels; and, as we were now only about five miles from it, lieutenant Downes was despatched to reconnoitre, as well as to see if it was a suitable situation for us to refit the ship, fill up our wood, and what quantity of water could there be obtained. He did not get in until after sundown, and returned to the ship at one o'clock in the morning; and, to complete our disappointment, reported that he had seen no vessels. The account he gave of the basin was such as to induce me to believe it would be a secure harbour for the ship, as he made a favourable report of the depth of water and anchorage. But as it was night, he could form but an imperfect notion of the form of the harbour, nor could he give me any account of the watering-place, as he was not able to find it. He was equally uninformed whether we should there be enabled to get

wood; I therefore, to remove all doubts in my own mind, determined to visit it myself; and, as the moon was now rising, directed my boat to be prepared, and started from the ship, arriving at the basin at sunrise, which I found every thing that could be desired to afford perfect security for a ship of the largest size. The art of man could not have formed a more beautiful basin, which is at the entrance about three cables' length over, and gradually enlarges to five cables' length, terminating in a round bottom. The whole is surrounded by high cliffs, except at the very bottom, where is the only landing for boats, at a small ravine, having three fathoms water along side of the rocks, which, from every side to the middle, gradually deepens to twelve fathoms, and has every where a clear, dark, sandy bottom, free from rocks and every other danger. Vessels should moor here head and stern, and when bound in should keep mid-channel, and choose their distance from the shore and depth of water. But as they may be liable to be deceived, from the great height of the hills, it would be advisable to send in a boat to anchor a buoy at the spot where the ship should let go her anchor. We saw here an abundance of fish and green turtle, and on landing found both the sea and land guanas, lizards, a small grey snake, and a variety of birds; also, trees of a considerable size, which would afford wood for shipping, and among them a species from which oozed a resinous substance, in very large quantities, dripping from the trunk and limbs. This tree produces a fruit nearly as large as a cherry; it was then green, and had a very aromatic smell and taste. From the basin we proceeded to the south, in search of the watering-place, and after rowing close along a rocky shore, about two miles, without discovering it, concluded to return, and land in every place where there was the least probability of finding it; although I was satisfied in my own mind, that, had one existed, it would have been impracticable to water at it, in consequence of the violence of the surf, which beats with such force against the rocks as to endanger the safety of the boat, although the sea appeared unusually calm. On our return we perceived a little moisture on a flat rock, about half a mile from the mouth of the basin, and with much difficulty I succeeded in landing. This I found to be the watering-place we were in

search of. In this rock I found four holes, each about fourteen inches square, and from six to seven deep, which had apparently been cut by some person with a pickaxe, for the purpose of catching the water as it dripped from the rocks above. At this time they contained only a little stinking water, as salt as brine, which had been thrown in by the sea. I caused them to be cleared out, but could not perceive, during the hour that I remained there, that any water whatever flowed into them, and I am persuaded that no water can ever be found there, except after heavy rains, and then only in small quantities; for the whole island is a light and thirsty soil, composed entirely of volcanic matter, and probably owes its origin to no distant period, for the volcanic cinders and other appearances lying on every part of the surface, as well as the innumerable craters, and hills composed of ashes and lava, all apparently fresh, and in most parts destitute of verdure, sufficiently prove that they have not long been thrown from the bowels of the ocean. These thirsty mountains, like a sponge, soak from the passing clouds the moisture, which serves to keep alive the scanty vegetation scattered over their sides; but they permit none of it to escape in springs or streams of water, for the support of animal life. On the side of a rock at this watering-place, we found the names of several English and American ships cut; whose crews had been there; and but a short distance from thence was erected a hut, built of loose stones, but destitute of a roof. In the neighbourhood of it were scattered, in considerable quantities, the bones and shells of land and sea tortoises. This I afterwards understood was the work of a wretched English sailor, who had been landed there by his captain, destitute of every thing, for having used some insulting language to him. Here he existed near a year on land tortoises and guanias, and his sole dependence for water was on the precarious supply he could get from the drippings of the rocks; at length, finding that no one was likely to come to take him from thence, and fearful of perishing for the want of water, he formed a determination to attempt at all hazards getting into Banks' Bay, where the ships cruise for whales. With this view he provided himself with two seal skins, with which, blown up, he formed a float; and, after hazarding destruction from the sharks, which frequently attacked his



vessel, and which he kept off with the stick that served him as a paddle, he succeeded at length in getting along side an American ship early in the morning, where his unexpected arrival not only surprised but alarmed the crew. His appearance was scarcely human; clothed in the skins of seals, his countenance haggard, thin, and emaciated, his beard and hair long and matted, they supposed him a being from another world. The commander of the vessel where he arrived felt a great sympathy for his sufferings, and determined for the moment to bring to punishment the villain who had, by thus cruelly exposing the life of a fellow-being, violated every principle of humanity; but from some cause or other he was prevented from carrying into effect his laudable intentions, and to this day the poor sailor has not had justice done him.

At the landing-place at the head of the basin, we found a bag, which, from its appearance, had been there but a very short time; also a fresh turtle shell and bones, as well as those of fish, and fresh ashes, where a fire had been kindled. From these traces we knew that some persons had been there but a short time before us; and in searching about we found the leaf of an English political pamphlet, from which we were led to suppose they had been English. We were in hopes of finding also a bottle containing letters, as it is a frequent practice for vessels engaged in the whale trade, to leave them at their stopping-places; but, after the most diligent search, we were unable to find any. In the neighbourhood of this place we killed an enormous sea-lion, and several seals, and in the course of half an hour caught as many fish as the boat could conveniently carry. Every boat belonging to the ship, had they been properly provided with hooks and lines, might have been loaded. There were a great variety, and all of an excellent quality. The sharks proved troublesome to us in taking away hooks, and sometimes snatching the fish from the lines; but on the whole we were well compensated for the time we spent, and the few hooks we lost, by the excellent repast they afforded.

Proceeding along shore to the northward of the basin, on a small sandy beach, among some rocks, we saw a number of turtle, which we turned on their backs. A short distance farther to the north, in a small and shallow cove near

some mangrove trees, we found a great many more, and succeeded in turning upwards of thirty of them, all of that species called the green turtle, and most of them upwards of three hundred weight. At both these places I caused large fires to be made, and on my return to the ship, where I did not arrive until dark, I despatched two boats to bring them off. The fires guided them to the spot; but on their arrival on board next morning they brought with them only ten, as a sudden rise of the tide (a circumstance we had not sufficiently guarded against) had enabled the rest to make their escape. Of those that were brought along-side, one of the largest among them was lost overboard in getting it on board. We however had enough remaining to give two or three fresh messes to all hands.

As the Barclay had not been enabled to get into the bay, in consequence of the violence of the current, and as we had lost sight of her, I concluded it best to run out and see what had become of her. At twelve o'clock discovered her standing in for the bay, under a press of canvas, with a fresh breeze from the westward, while we had it from the eastward. I had not yet made up my mind whether to remain in the bay a few days to await the arrival of vessels there, or to look around among the other islands for them. One great object with me now was to find a convenient place for watering my ship. None such was to be found at Albemarle, and I had but little hopes of being able to find any at the other islands; but as I had understood that some fresh water was to be had at times at James' Island, which lies at a short distance from Albemarle, I believed it would be adviseable to proceed to that place, which is said to be much frequented by English whalers and smugglers, who resort there for wood and land tortoises. Considering the time I had been from the United States, during which period many of my crew had not been on shore, I thought it necessary, on account of their health, to take them where they could have an opportunity of getting on shore among the trees, the odour arising from which is said to be the most powerful antiscorbutic known. I determined, however, before I adopted any plan for future operations, to obtain from captain Randall his opinion respecting the cause of this unexpected absence of British ships from Banks' Bay, for I could not imagine any reason for it

but one, which was, that they had, on the first news of war, captured all the American vessels they had found in the bay, and gone off with them. Yet it appeared to me extraordinary that none others should have arrived since, particularly as some had sailed at a late period from Lima for that station. But while the Barclay was running into the bay, I stood over for the north head of Albemarle; and as I had no doubt, from what I had already seen, that every part of the bay abounded with fish, I sent three boats to endeavour to catch some, and shortly afterwards followed them myself. We proceeded to the foot of a remarkably black precipice, of a great height, evidently the half of a crater, which has been rent asunder by some violent convulsion of nature, or has been undermined by the slow but constant operation of the currents, and has gradually crumbled into the ocean. This, with a point or peninsula that projects to the southward, forms a bay which may probably afford shelter and anchorage for vessels; but having but a short time to spare, we devoted it entirely to the object for which we came, and in less than half an hour we loaded all our boats with as many fish as they could carry, and returned to the ship. On the east side of the point before mentioned, is a remarkable cavern, formed by the beating of the sea, which has caused the rock to fall in, until it has formed what the French call a *trombe dans l'angle*, and excavated nearly the whole point or peninsula, leaving merely a support for the arch. Under this place we caught our fish, and all the boats of the ship might have been loaded in the same time. The moment the hook was in the water, hundreds of them were seen rushing towards it, and many of them of a size which made it very difficult to haul in with our largest lines. They were chiefly the black, yellow, and red grouper; and a fish greatly resembling the sheeps-head, all of an excellent quality; and so abundant were they, that they were frequently caught with the boat hooks while swimming about the boats. They afforded not only a pleasant amusement to those who caught them, but a plentiful repast to the crew of the Essex, as well as to that of the Barclay. Our supply was so much greater than we wanted for immediate consumption, that after salting many of them, large quantities were thrown overboard, to keep them from spoiling on our hands. We also caught



one of that description of black turtle formerly mentioned; and as many were desirous of proving its qualities, it was brought on board, and found to be superior to any we had yet tasted. After supplying my own table and that of the officers of the ward-room, it furnished an abundant meal to six messes of the ship's company, consisting of forty-eight men. We here also caught a number of shags and penguins, and killed some pelicans and other aquatic birds.

In the morning I stood out of the bay with the land-breeze, which, since we have been here, has constantly sprung up at sunrise, and continued to blow until about ten o'clock, when, after a calm of an hour or two, the sea-breeze has set in from the westward, which continued until sundown; the rest of the twenty-four hours has been perfectly calm. I made the signal to speak the Barclay; and on captain Randall's coming on board, he assured me that the English whalers were somewhere to the north, where they had been unavoidably swept by the current. This I could hardly credit, when we had found such difficulty in getting into the bay from the southward; but he assured me, that notwithstanding the southerly current we had to contend with to the south of the bay, I should find it to the north running equally strong northerly; and, strange as it may appear, I found it absolutely the case; for in standing a little more out of the bay, and to the north of North Head, or Cape Berkley, we experienced a current setting northerly, which carried us with great rapidity. As we approached Point Albemarle, (which is the northernmost extremity of the island of that name, and off which lies a reef of rocks, extending about two miles,) the weather became hazy; and while searching around the horizon with my perspective, I was at length cheered with the sight of what I believed to be a sail. Numbers of others on board were under the same illusion; all hands were called to make sail; and in a few minutes another was discovered. We now began to believe that fortune had become tired of trying our patience, and began already to make some estimation of their probable value, and form some plan of disposing of them; but to our mortification the illusion soon vanished, and it appeared we had been cheated by two sand banks, whose appearance had been so strangely altered by the intervention of the fog, as to assume precisely the

appearance of ships under their top-gallant-sails. The spirits of the crew had been highly excited by the prospect of making prizes, and the disappointment had occasioned no trifling degree of dejection and despondency among them; but they did not murmur; they were sensible that, if we were not successful, we had not ourselves to accuse, as we had not avoided the enemy by remaining in port; nor had we been neglectful in our search for him. There were few on board the ship who did not now despair of making any captures about the Gallipagos Islands; and I believe that many began to think that the information we had received respecting the practice of British vessels frequenting those islands, as well as the flattering expectations which this information had given rise to, had been altogether deception. But I could not so lightly lay down the opinions, which had caused me to visit those islands, and had been formed on information that could not be doubted. I determined not to leave the Gallipagos so long as there remained a hope of finding a British vessel among them. The current continued to carry us with great rapidity to the northwest, and light and baffling winds, but more frequently calms, only served to increase our impatience, and weaken our hopes of recovering our lost ground; for we had, by the 28th of April, been drifted as far to the north as  $1^{\circ} 8'$ , notwithstanding every exertion we could make to get to the southward, by keeping on the most advantageous tacks. Our wood and water, two articles of the highest importance to us, began to grow short, and there scarcely remained a hope of finding any of the latter article at any of the islands, unless it could be had at James'. Of this I had my doubts, although it has been asserted by some, that it furnishes it in considerable quantities. I however determined to visit it, not with an expectation of procuring water, but with a hope of finding there some English vessels, as I thought it not improbable that they might have put in there to take on board wood and tortoises, and were waiting for a change of current to enable them to reach Banks' Bay. Under every circumstance, I considered it advisable to endeavour to reach James' Island, and should I prove unsuccessful there, determined to extend my search among the group; for I could not be persuaded that they were entirely abandoned by the whalers.

At day-light on the morning of the 29th, I was roused from my cot, where I passed a sleepless and anxious night, by the cry of "*sail ho!*" "*sail ho!*" which was re-echoed through the ship, and in a moment all hands were on deck. The strange sail proved to be a large ship, bearing west, to which we gave chase; and in an hour afterwards we discovered two others, bearing southwest, equally large in their appearance. I had no doubts of their being British whale-ships; and as I was certain that toward mid-day, as usual, it would fall calm, I felt confident we should succeed in taking the whole of them. I continued my pursuit of the first discovered vessel, and at nine o'clock spoke her under British colours. She proved to be the British whale-ship Montezuma, captain Baxter, with one thousand four hundred barrels of spermaceti oil. I invited the captain on board; and while he was in my cabin, giving me such information as was in his power respecting the other whale-ships about the Gallipagos, I took his crew on board the Essex, put an officer and crew in the Montezuma, and continued in pursuit of the other vessels, which made all exertions to get from us. At eleven A. M., according to my expectation, it fell calm; we were then at the distance of eight miles from them. I had reason, from the information obtained, to believe them to be the British armed whale-ships Georgiana, of six eighteen-pounders, and the Policy, of ten six-pounders, the one having on board thirty-five, and the other twenty-six men; but that they were British ships, there could not be a doubt, and we were determined to have them at all hazards. Thick and hazy weather is prevalent here, and, as there was every indication of it, I was fearful that, in the event of a breeze, one or the other of them might make its escape from us, as I had understood that they were reputed fast sailers. I therefore thought it adviseable to attempt them in our boats, and with this view had them prepared for the purpose, and in a few minutes they departed in two divisions. Lieutenant Downes, in the whale-boat, commanded the first division, consisting of the third cutter, lieutenant M'Knight, jolly-boat, sailing-master Cowell, and second cutter, midshipman Isaacs; and lieutenant Wilmer, in the pinnace, commanding the second division, consisting of the 1st cutter, lieutenant Wilson, and gig, lieutenant Gamble of the ma-



rines. The heavy-rowing boats occasioned considerable delay to the whole, as I had given the most positive orders that the boats should be brought into action all together, and that no officer should take advantage of the fleetness of his boat to proceed ahead of the rest, believing that some of them, from their extreme anxiety to join with the enemy, might be so imprudent as to do so. At two o'clock, the boats were about a mile from the vessels, (which were about a quarter of a mile apart,) when they hoisted English colours, and fired several guns. The boats now formed in one division, and pulled for the largest ship, which, as they approached, kept her guns trained on them. The signal was made for boarding; and, when lieutenant Downes arrived within a few yards of her gangway, and directed them to surrender, the colours were hauled down. They now proceeded for the other vessel, after leaving an officer and some men on board, and as soon as she was hailed, she followed the example of the first by striking her colours. Shortly afterwards a breeze sprung up, the prizes bore down for us, and we welcomed the safe return of our shipmates with three hearty cheers. The captured vessels proved to be, as I had expected, the Georgiana, captain Pitts, of two hundred and eighty tons, and the Policy, of two hundred and seventy-five tons; and these three vessels, which we had taken with so little trouble, were estimated to be worth in England upwards of half a million of dollars. The ease with which the last vessels were taken by our open boats, gave us but a poor opinion of British valour; and the satisfaction which the possession of these valuable vessels gave us, made us forget for a moment the hardships of Cape Horn, and the time we had spent without seeing an enemy. It also afforded us a useful lesson, as it convinced us we ought not to despair of success under any circumstances, however unfortunate they may appear; and that, although the patient and persevering may for a time meet with disappointments, fortune will at length most commonly make amends. Slight murmurings had on one or two occasions been heard from some of the crew, occasioned by our want of success heretofore, and with a view of preventing it in future, I considered it advisable to inculcate this maxim by the following note :

## SAILORS AND MARINES,

Fortune has at length smiled on us, because we deserved her smiles, and the first time she enabled us to display *free trade and sailors' rights*, assisted by your good conduct, she put in our possession near half a million of the enemy's property.

Continue to be zealous, enterprising, and patient, and we will yet render the name of the Essex as terrible to the enemy as that of any other vessel, before we return to the United States. My plans shall be made known to you at a suitable period.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

April 30, 1813.

The possession of these vessels, besides the great satisfaction it produced, was attended by another advantage of no less importance, as it relieved all our wants except one, to wit, the want of water. From them we obtained an abundant supply of cordage, canvas, paints, tar, and every other article necessary for the ship, of all of which she stood in great need, as our slender stock brought from America had now become worn out and useless. Besides the articles necessary for the ship, we became supplied with a stock of provisions, of a quality and quantity that removed all apprehensions of our suffering for the want of them for many months, as those vessels, when they sailed from England, were provided with provisions and stores for upwards of three years, and had not yet consumed half their stock. All were of the best quality; and were it only for the supplying our immediate wants, the prizes were of the greatest importance to us. We found on board of them, also, wherewith to furnish our crew with several delicious meals. They had been in at James' Island, and had supplied themselves abundantly with those extraordinary animals the tortoises of the Gallipagos, which properly deserve the name of the elephant tortoise. Many of them were of a size to weigh upwards of three hundred weight; and nothing, perhaps, can be more disagreeable or clumsy than they are in their external appearance. Their motion resembles strongly that of the elephant; their steps slow, regular, and heavy; they carry their body about a foot from the ground, and their legs and feet bear no slight re-

semblance to the animal to which I have likened them; their neck is from eighteen inches to two feet in length, and very slender; their head is proportioned to it, and strongly resembles that of a serpent. But, hideous and disgusting as is their appearance, no animal can possibly afford a more wholesome, luscious, and delicate food than they do; the finest green turtle is no more to be compared to them in point of excellence, than the coarsest beef is to the finest veal; and after once tasting the Gallipagos tortoises, every other animal food fell greatly in our estimation. These animals are so fat as to require neither butter nor lard to cook them, and this fat does not possess that cloying quality, common to that of most other animals. When tried out, it furnishes an oil superior in taste to that of the olive. The meat of this animal is the easiest of digestion, and a quantity of it, exceeding that of any other food, can be eaten, without experiencing the slightest inconvenience. But what seems the most extraordinary in this animal, is the length of time that it can exist without food; for I have been well assured, that they have been piled away among the casks in the hold of a ship, where they have been kept eighteen months, and when killed at the expiration of that time, were found to have suffered no diminution in fatness or excellence. They carry with them a constant supply of water, in a bag at the root of the neck, which contains about two gallons; and on tasting that found in those we killed on board, it proved perfectly fresh and sweet. They are very restless when exposed to the light and heat of the sun, but will lie in the dark from one year's end to the other without moving. In the day-time, they appear remarkably quick-sighted and timid, drawing their head into their shell on the slightest motion of any object; but they are entirely destitute of hearing, as the loudest noise, even the firing of a gun, does not seem to alarm them in the slightest degree, and at night, or in the dark, they appear perfectly blind. After our tasting the flesh of those animals, we regretted that numbers of them had been thrown overboard by the crews of the vessels before their capture, to clear them for action. A few days afterwards, at daylight in the morning, we were so fortunate as to find ourselves surrounded by about fifty of them, which were picked up and brought on board, as they had been lying in the



same place where they had been thrown over, incapable of any exertion in that element, except that of stretching out their long necks.

I had merely placed a temporary crew on board the prizes, but took the first opportunity to make a more permanent arrangement, putting midshipman Odenheimer in charge of the Montezuma, and midshipman Cowan of the Policy, giving them the necessary directions for clearing their decks of the lumber of oil casks and other articles, to bend all their light sails, and reave their running rigging, which had all been unbent and unrove, as unnecessary while fishing, and to preserve them from injury. I also furnished them with the necessary signals, and appointed the island of Plata, and the bay of Tumbez, as rendezvous in case of separation, directing them to use the utmost economy in the expenditure of their provisions, stores, and water, ordering all hands to be put on the same allowance as the crew of the Essex.

On examining the Georgiana, I found her not only a noble ship, but well calculated for a cruiser, as she sailed well, had been built for the service of the British East-India Company, and had been employed as a packet until this voyage. I therefore determined to equip and arm her completely, and mounted on her the ten guns of the Policy, making her whole number now sixteen, to which were added two swivels, and a number of heavy blunderbusses mounted on swivels, as well as all the muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and other military equipments we could find on board the other vessels. By these means rendering her as formidable, in point of armament, as any of the British letters of marque I could hear of in this ocean. But this I did not undertake until I was well satisfied she could be well manned without reducing too much my own crew. A number of seamen captured in the prizes had already proffered their services to us; and on inquiry I found many of them to be Americans. They volunteered their services in equipping the Georgiana, and freeing her from much of the lumber on board, consisting of empty casks and other cumbrous articles, which were sent on board the other prizes. The heavy brick-work and large iron boilers used for trying out the oil, were taken down, to give more room on her decks, and relieve her from the great weight, which was found

greatly to improve her sailing. The command of this vessel, now completely equipped for war, I gave to lieutenant Downes, with a crew consisting of thirty-six of our own men, and five of the men who had entered from prizes, making her number altogether forty-one men. The remainder I kept on board the *Essex*, whose crew now amounted to two hundred and sixty-four men, including officers, and those on board the *Barclay*. I appointed midshipman Haddaway as acting lieutenant on board the *Georgiana*, and sent Mr. Miller (my former gunner) there to do duty, as well as Kingsbury as boatswain, and two quarter-masters. The equipping and manning of this vessel also enabled me to make some promotions on board my own ship from some of the most deserving of my crew, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the petty officers sent on board her. We now considered the sloop of war *Georgiana*, as she was styled, no trifling augmentation of our own force. But, taken in another view, she was of the utmost importance to our safety; for, in the event of any accident happening to the *Essex*, a circumstance to which she was every moment liable, while cruising in a sea with which we were little acquainted, we could calculate on relief from the *Georgiana*. Added to this, she doubled the chance of annoying the enemy, and might serve as an excellent decoy, as we were particularly careful not to change in the slightest degree her appearance as a whaler. On the 8th she hoisted the American ensign and pendant, and saluted the *Essex* with seventeen guns, which was returned by our crew with three cheers.

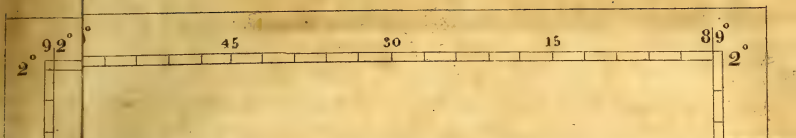
The light baffling winds and strong westerly currents prevented me now from laying any plans for my future operations; my whole attention was turned to getting up to the islands again, as I had intelligence of several other British vessels being in the neighbourhood and expected there; among others the *Perseverance*, the *Rose*, and the *New Zealand*, three fine vessels, with nearly full cargoes. I felt anxious to get into port to recruit my stock of water and wood, the only articles we now stood in want of, as was the case with my prizes, which were all short of water. But I was desirous of looking once more into Banks' Bay, where I confidently expected, on a change of current, to make as many prizes as I could conveniently man.

The weather being remarkably pleasant, I took advan-

tage of it to put our rigging in order, by overhauling and tarring it, and painting the ship inside. As we had been enabled to procure an abundance of small spars, planks, timber, and nails, I set the carpenters to work, making many repairs, which we had not heretofore been enabled to do for the want of the necessary materials; for although we had had it in our power to supply ourselves at Valparaiso, I did not procure them there, confidently believing that the enemy would, in due time, furnish us with what we wanted.

Doctor Miller, about this time, became dissatisfied with his new situation on board the Barclay, and expressed a desire to remove to the Policy, where the accommodations, he had understood, were equal to those of the Barclay. To this wish I assented; as the captain of the Policy was in very low health, I had been induced to let him remain on board his ship. As he was a man of considerable loquacity, and some intelligence, I believed that the doctor would find himself agreeably situated, if it were possible to make him so, as to comfort and society.









GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS.

ABINGDON I.

BINLOES I.

ALBEMARLE I.

JAMES I.

PORTERS I.

DOWNES I.

BARRINGTON I.

CHARLES I.

HOODS I.

CHATHAMS I.

S. HEAD

N. HEAD

NARBOROUGH I.

This Island is situated agreeably to the reports of several Whalers, and corresponds to the position in which it was seen by Lieut. Downes U.S.N. 1845.





## CHAPTER VII.

## GALLIPAGOS ISLANDS; FISHERY.

ON the 9th of May, we were, by lunar observation, in the longitude of  $39^{\circ} 12'$  west; and on the meridian of the same day in latitude  $1^{\circ} 18' 27''$  north. I found we were daily losing ground by the violence of the northwest currents, and believed we should make more head-way by taking the dullest sailer, the Montezuma, in tow. But after getting a hawser fast to her, we found that the best sailers, with all the canvas they could spread, could not keep way with us, and we were frequently obliged to shorten sail for them to come up.

As the weather was yet fine, I continued putting the ship in a good state for service; and on examining the breechings of the guns, I found them entirely rotten and unserviceable. This gave me great uneasiness, for fear that I should not be enabled to remedy the evil; but, on searching among our prizes, we found suitable rope to answer the purpose.

At four o'clock on the evening of the 12th, we very unexpectedly discovered land ahead, and on the weather bow. The wind continuing light and baffling during the night, we kept plying to the southward, and in our endeavours were greatly assisted by a strong current. In the morning we were about four leagues distant from an island of considerable height in the middle, gradually sloping off every way to long low points, and bounded on every part (within sight) by fine long sandy beaches. The island appeared covered with verdure, and had a very agreeable and inviting appearance. I at first supposed it to be James' Island, as did all the prisoners who were acquainted with its appearance; but they all declared, that although it had some resemblance to that island, they could not recollect the sandy beaches and fine bays with which this appeared indented. As I could not find any correspondence between the position of this and other islands in sight, with those laid down

on Colnet's chart, the only one which has been drawn of the Gallipagos, I felt myself much staggered in the belief of this being James'; but thought it not unlikely that the want of correspondence might be owing to the general incorrectness of the chart, as we have found it filled with errors, none of the islands being laid down agreeable to their true position. Nor are the shores of any of them correctly traced; and there are also many islands in this group not noticed in his chart. But it is not to be wondered at that captain Colnet did not make a correct chart of the Gallipagos, as he merely sailed around the group, without passing through it; and had he even passed, as we have done, twice through them, strong currents and foggy weather would have tended greatly to mislead his judgment, and baffle all calculation as to distance. Having my doubts as to this being James' Island, although its great extent appeared to justify the belief, I made a signal for the Georgiana to proceed ahead, while we ran through the passage between that and a smaller island on the larboard bow, which to me had much the appearance of Barrington Island. But as all declared it to be Norfolk Island, I must acknowledge that I felt myself at a loss to know what part of the cluster I had got into. I did not, however, believe the large island to be James'; and as a fine breeze sprang up from the northward, and a strong current set from the same quarter, I determined to give up the idea of making any farther examination, with a view of getting to the southward, with the dull-sailing vessels under my care, hoping to reach Hood's Island, to get on board some terrapins, as a refreshment for the crew. I consequently made a signal for a boat to be sent from the Georgiana, and sent to lieutenant Downes the following orders:

United States frigate Essex, at sea, Chatham Island  
bearing southeast, 12th May, 1813.

SIR,

You will proceed to Albemarle, searching Charles' or James' Island, whichever is most convenient, in your way. I shall endeavour to get into the harbour at Hood's Island, where I should wish you to join me if practicable; from thence I shall proceed to the continent to take in water, probably at Tambez, where you will proceed if you should



not find me at Hood's Island, or if on your arrival you should not receive different instructions from me. From Tumbez I shall beat up the coast towards Lima; and when I shall have taken as many prizes as will render my return to port necessary, I shall proceed to Conception, previous to my going to Valparaiso, with a view of obtaining intelligence of the British cruisers on the coast. Should you not fall in with me at Hood's Island, or at Tumbez, you will follow me in my route; and if you should touch at Coquimbo, inquire for letters for me, and open them, and do the same at Conception. Should you not hear of me at Conception or Valparaiso, you will endeavour to dispose of the whole or a part of the cargo of the *Georgiana*, and will continue to make short cruises in the neighbourhood of the place, until my arrival, increasing your crew as circumstances may render it expedient or necessary, and securing your prizes under the protection of the batteries, unless you can dispose of them to advantage. If this cannot be done, you will please consult the consul-general as to the most proper person to be employed as agent, and do whatever may to you seem expedient to the good of all concerned.

Near some conspicuous tree or object which I shall mark, not far from the landing-place at Hood's Island, I shall bury a bottle containing farther instructions. I shall do the same at Massafuero, should I touch there; and prior to my departure from Tumbez, if I should conclude on changing my route from thence, and proceeding along the coast of Mexico, I shall intimate my intentions of so doing by presenting the governor or principal person there with a *rifle*. Should you be certain of my having done this you will proceed to Quibo, and, near the watering-place marked A in the chart, I shall leave farther instructions in a bottle, at the root of a marked tree. It is possible that I may leave a letter for you, directed to the commander of the *Georgiana*, at Tumbez. I calculate on cruising off Cape Blanco some time before and after going into Tumbez, so that I think it highly probable that you will find me there, an event very much desired by me. It is even possible that I may stop at the island of Plata; should it be in your way, look in there, and search the landing for marked trees, and a bottle containing a letter.

If, on your way back from Albemarle, you can conveniently touch at Charles' Island, do so, and search there for letters.

I have the honour to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes, commanding the  
armed prize-ship Georgiana.*

Lieutenant Downes made sail to double the south point of the large island, and I proceeded with my other prizes and the Barclay to the S. S. E. At meridian the weather cleared up, and, to my great surprise, I discovered first Gardner's Island, and a few minutes afterwards Charles' Island, the latter bearing S. S. W. We now perceived that we had passed between Barrington Island and a fine large island, which occupies the place given to Duncan's and James' Islands on Colnet's chart. We were now convinced that no reliance whatever should be placed on Colnet's survey, which has been drawn only from fancy or the incorrect information of others; for no such islands as Duncan's and James' exist where he has placed them, nor has he any where traced an island bearing the slightest resemblance to the one in question. I now bore away for Charles' Island, where I anchored at four P. M., in eight fathoms water, at the distance of one and a half miles of the long sandy beach within the reef, the Devil's Rock, or Rock Dismal, bearing E. N. E., and the west point of the island S. W. by S.; the bottom, however, appeared rocky, and on a closer examination of the harbour, I found we should have lain in deeper water, with much better shelter and bottom, closer in shore. The prizes and Barclay followed us in, and anchored between us and the beach. As soon as the ship was moored, I went on shore to examine the letter-box, but found no new papers in it. I however saw unquestionable evidence of a vessel's having been in the harbour since we had left it, for the cask of water, and the barrel of bread, and other articles, had been carried off, and no part of either remained but the hoops of the cask; fresh tracks of men were plainly to be seen from the beach to the postoffice, where the articles were placed; and an impression was made in the sand as though a bag had been set down, near

which were some whale-line yarns, part of which had been used, no doubt, for the purpose of tying it. All these circumstances left no doubts on our minds of their having been carried off by some whale-ship; and, on comparing the yarns with those we had got from on board our prizes, they were known to be English. I now felt great regret that I had not kept the Georgiana with me until our arrival, that I could have despatched her direct for Albemarle in search of the stranger; for I could have no doubt of her having gone direct for that place, as this is the common touching-place for vessels bound there, both from a high southern latitude, and from Tumbez, on the continent, where they generally go for water. I was in hopes that she was from the latter place, with a good stock of that article, of which we now stood more in need than any other; and although I was almost induced to consider her as our own, (for I had no doubts that lieutenant Downes would fall in with her,) yet, as I was not certain that he would be enabled to join me here, I had no strong expectations of receiving any immediate advantage from the supplies she might bring, and determined to make every exertion in my power to procure, if possible, a supply from the island. I had heard of a spring in the interior, which could be approached from a beach on the west side, about six miles distant from the ship. To this place I proceeded next morning, taking with me two ten-gallon kegs to make the experiment with, in order to estimate the quantity we could procure from thence daily. We found the spring at the distance of three miles from the beach, and the water, after clearing it out, proved excellent. But it was found to be extremely laborious work getting it down to the beach, as our stoutest men were exhausted after taking down one keg each; and it was found that each man could not carry any more than three kegs in twenty-four hours, owing to the distance, the badness of the roads, and the excessive heat on shore. I concluded, however, on attempting to get some water to answer our present purpose, notwithstanding the difficulties which opposed us, and with this view returned to the ship to make the necessary arrangements, and on my way loaded my boat with some excellent fish.

On landing at the beach leading to the spring, we found fresh embers, and a tortoise, which had not been killed ap-



parently more than two days. On our way to the spring we found other testimonies of persons having been recently there : such as a pair of mockasons, made of English canvas, and a tortoise shell containing about two quarts of English Barley.

This part of the island abounds with tortoises, which frequent the springs for the sake of the water, and upwards of thirty of them were turned on their backs by us, as they came down to drink, during the short time we remained there, which was not more than an hour and a half. But we were enabled to bring down only one, and he was selected more for his antiquated appearance than for his size or supposed excellence. His weight was exactly one hundred and ninety seven pounds, but he was far from being considered of a large size.

As I returned from the spring, I could not help reflecting on the extraordinary scheme that I was about attempting to procure water, and was almost appalled by the obstacles which presented themselves. In addition to the difficulties of getting it down to the beach, it would be necessary there to put it into large casks, and from thence raft it to the ship, a distance of six miles, through a high sea, and sometimes against rapid currents. To this must be added the danger and inconvenience of having one half of my crew at least separated from the ship, thus leaving not only her but our prizes exposed, in a defenceless state, to the attacks of an enemy. As water was to be procured in that part of the island, I thought it not unlikely that it might be found near the bay in which we lay ; and well knowing the roving disposition of seamen, I determined to let a party go on shore to amuse themselves, confidently believing, if water was to be found within two or three miles of us, it would be discovered by them. On their return at night I was not disappointed, for they informed me that they had found upwards of forty or fifty barrels of water lodged in the different hollows of the rocks, about a mile and a half from the shore ; that the difficulties of getting to it were very great, but they did not doubt that each man would be enabled to bring down, in ten-gallon kegs, forty gallons per day. I immediately caused casks to be landed, and, by sending parties on shore daily, procured while we lay here two thousand gallons, much of it, to be sure, of a filthy appear-

ance, having a bad taste and smell, and filled abundantly with slime and insects. But to us it was a treasure too precious to lose, and the greatest industry was used to save every drop of it, for fear that the sun, which was evaporating it rapidly, should cheat us of our prize.

In order that no means should be left untried to procure a large supply of water, I caused two wells to be dug in the most likely places for finding it; but, after digging a considerable depth, salt water flowed in, and disappointed our hopes. I also sent on shore a wooding party, which soon procured us as large a supply of fuel as we stood in need of.

Early in the morning of the third day of our arrival, a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in for the island. I immediately caused preparation to be made for sending the boats after her, as the wind was very light; but on her nearer approach, when she made her private signal, discovered it to be the Georgiana. Her arrival, although unexpected, gave me much pleasure; and on lieutenant Downes coming on board, he informed me, that, on doubling the southwest part of the island which we had supposed to be James', he had discovered several other small islands, and had experienced rapid currents, which had put the safety of his ship in jeopardy, as they had swept him very near to a high rock, which lies in a passage of about two miles wide, formed by the southwest part of the island and another smaller island. He had felt the same embarrassments as myself with respect to the island, and it was with no little difficulty that he extricated himself from the dangers of rocks and breakers, with which he was environed in this unknown navigation. After getting clear of them, and finding himself in the neighbourhood of Charles' Island, he had determined to look in there before going to Albemarle, in hopes of meeting a prize, little expecting to find me there at anchor.

After lieutenant Downes had been with me a short time, I despatched him to Albemarle, in pursuit of the stranger who had touched at the island before us, directing him to stop at Charles' Island as soon afterwards as possible, and, should he not find me there, to search at the foot of the stake to which the letter-box is attached, where I should bury a bottle containing instructions for him.

After the Georgiana left us, I proposed to Mr. Adams that he should take two boats and proceed to the large island, for the purpose of making an accurate survey of it, and examining the resources it would afford us. Mr. Adams (whose zeal for promoting geographical and mathematical knowledge does him great honour) grasped at the proposal with avidity, and at four P. M. of the same day, (supplied with a week's provisions, and every necessary for the same period,) he sailed on his voyage of discovery, in a whale-boat belonging to the Essex, and accompanied by midshipman Odenheimer in another belonging to the Montezuma. I directed them to be back to the ship between the fifth and sixth day from their departure, and during this interval we occupied ourselves in painting our ship's bends and upper-works, keeping parties every day on shore bringing down to the beach tortoises for the ship's company, of which they succeeded in getting on board between four and five hundred. Although the parties on this employment (which were selected every day, to give all an opportunity of going on shore) indulged themselves in the most ample manner in tortoise meat, (which by them was called Gallipagos mutton,) yet their relish for this food did not seem in the least abated, nor their exertions to get them on board in the least relaxed, for every one appeared desirous of securing as large a stock of this provision as possible for the cruise. They were brought the distance of from three to four miles, through thorns and over sharp rocks; yet it was no uncommon thing for them to make three and four trips a day, each with tortoises weighing from fifty to a hundred weight. We were enabled to procure here, also, in large quantities, an herb in taste much resembling spinach, and so called by our people; likewise various other pot-herbs, and prickly pears in great abundance, which were not only of an excellent flavour, but a sovereign antiscorbutic. It afforded me great pleasure to observe that they were so much relished by our people.

The cotton plant was found growing spontaneously, and a tree of a very aromatic flavour and taste, which was no other than the one formerly mentioned, found on the island of Albemarle, and producing in large quantities a resinous substance. This Mr. Adams declared was the alcornoque, so famous for the cure of consumptions, and is probably



the same as that mentioned by Colnet, and called by him the algarrooa.

The only quadrupeds found on the island were tortoises, lizards, and a few sea guanas; the land guana was not to be found. Doves peculiar to these islands, of a small size, and beautiful plumage, were very numerous, and afforded great amusement to the younger part of the crew in killing them with sticks and stones, which was nowise difficult, as they were very tame. The English mocking-bird was also found in great numbers, and a small black bird, with a remarkably short and strong bill, and a shrill note. These were the only birds except aquatic found here; the latter were not numerous, and consisted of teal, which frequented a lagoon on the east part of the bay, pelicans, boobies, and other birds common to all the islands of these seas. Sea turtles and seals were scarce and shy.

That every person might be employed to the most advantage, I directed that those having charge of prizes should paint them, and otherwise put them in good order as to appearance, in the expectation that they would bring a higher price among the Spaniards, to whom I intended offering them for sale the first opportunity. They were noble ships, and a little paint added greatly to the beauty of their appearance. I also recommended to captain Randall to change as much as possible the paint and appearance of his ship, in order that we might not be traced by her, as she was well known on this coast. The appearance of the *Essex* had been so frequently changed, that I had but little apprehensions of her being known again by those who had seen her before, or from any description that could be given of her. While we lay here, I permitted all the prisoners to go on shore whenever they wished it, as many of them were affected with the scurvy. One in particular was so bad with it as to be scarcely able to move. But on getting him on shore, where he could procure a kind of sorrel and the prickly pear, and burying his legs in the earth every day, he was so far recovered before our departure, as scarcely to complain of his disease, and could walk as briskly as any among us, assisting frequently in bringing down water and tortoises from the rocks and mountains.

We here found the tomb of a seaman who had been bu-

ried five years before, from a ship called the *Georgiana*, commanded by captain Pitts. Over it was erected a white board, bearing an inscription, neatly executed, showing his age, &c., and terminating with the following epitaph, which I insert more on account of the extreme simplicity of the verse, and its powerful and flattering appeal to the feelings, than for its elegance, or the correctness of the composition :

Gentle reader, as you pass by,  
As you are now, so wonce was I;  
As now my body is in the dust,  
I hope in heaven my soul to rest.

The spot where his remains were deposited was shaded by two lofty thorn-bushes, which afforded an agreeable shade and fragrance, and became the favourite resort of our men at their meals. The pile of stones (which had been piously placed over the grave by his shipmates) served them both for table and seat, where they indulged themselves amply in their favourite food, and quaffed many a can of grog to his poor soul's rest!

On the 20th May, in the morning, discovered the two whale-boats returning with Mr. Adams from the island they had been sent to survey. As I was apprehensive that they had exhausted their stock of water, I despatched a boat with a supply, which proved very acceptable, as they had been eighteen hours without any. Mr. Adams informed me that he had made a complete survey of the island, and had determined the latitude and longitude of the principal points; but that, on the most careful examination, he had not been able to find either good anchorage or fresh water. He stated that it abounded in wood, and that land-tortoises and green turtle were in the greatest abundance, the former generally of an enormous size, one of which measured five feet and a half long, four feet and a half wide, and three feet thick, and others were found by some of the seamen of a larger size. From this island, James', Albemarle, Norfolk, Barrington, Crossman's, Charles', and many others, were to be seen; but he could perceive none that bore the slightest resemblance, in position or appearance, to those called, by captain Colnet, Duncan's and Jarvis' Islands. As this island was now destitute of a name, and he could

perceive no traces of its having been visited before, he highly complimented me, by giving it the name of Porter's Island.

The southwest landing of this island is in latitude  $0^{\circ} 42' 14''$  south, longitude  $90^{\circ} 27' 9''$  west.

The northwest landing is in latitude  $0^{\circ} 32' 40''$  south, longitude  $90^{\circ} 23' 54''$  west.

The northeast landing is in latitude  $0^{\circ} 31' 12''$  south, longitude  $90^{\circ} 12' 45''$  west.

Having now got on board as much wood as we stood in need of, and all the water that could be procured, as well as a stock of salt provisions from the prizes, and a supply of tortoises, we had nothing to detain us longer at Charles' Island. I therefore made the signal to prepare to weigh, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 21st weighed our anchor, and, in company with our prizes, stood to the southwest, with a view of getting an offing sufficient to enable us to weather Charles' Island on the other tack, which I had reason to hope we could do without much difficulty, as I perceived we had a current setting to the southward. We found our stream-cable a little chafed by the rocks, but less so than I had apprehended, from the quality of the bottom we had anchored in.

I should have mentioned before, that Mr. Adams, on the night of his return from Porter's Island, fell in with a ship, which he passed at the distance of gun-shot from her. She bore much the appearance of an English vessel, had a tier of guns, and was bound toward Albemarle; in consequence of which, I determined to run down for Banks' Bay to look for her, should the current have proved against our getting to the southward. I not only hoped, by so doing, to secure a valuable prize, but expected to be enabled to get a supply of water from her, which was what we now stood more in need of than any other article whatever.

On obtaining the above information from Mr. Adams, I believed it probable that we should be enabled to see the stranger from some one of the adjacent hills. Under this expectation I landed on the western point of the bay, and, in company with lieutenant Gamble of the marines, and Mr. Shaw, purser, proceeded to ascend a high and rugged mountain there situated, which did not appear to us a difficult task to attempt. But we were soon convinced of our



error, for it was not without great labour and fatigue, and at the risk of our lives, that we succeeded in reaching the top of it, after crawling through thorn-bushes, wounding ourselves by the prickly-pear trees, and scrambling over the loose lava, which tore our shoes, and was every moment giving way under us. We at length, however, arrived, exhausted with thirst, heat, and fatigue, at the summit, where we had an extensive view of the islands, but could perceive no vessels in the offing. Our descent was no less hazardous; and on our way back we found a large tortoise, which we opened with some difficulty, with the hope of finding some water to allay our thirst. But we were disappointed in only finding a few gills, of a disagreeable-tasted liquid. This our stomachs revolted at; we therefore had recourse to sucking the leaf of the prickly pear, which we found to serve our purpose.

Prior to my departure, I left the following letter for Mr. Downes, buried in a bottle at the foot of the stake to which the letter-box was attached.

May 20th, 1813.

SIR,

I sail from this place to-morrow, and shall shape my course for Tumbez. Mr. Adams has surveyed the large island, but it affords no fresh water, nor good shelter; I have succeeded in getting two thousand gallons here, which perhaps will enable me to cruise a short time before going in. A ship was seen last night by Mr. Adams, on his return; he passed not more than a mile from her; she was bound down to the Bay or James' Island, and, from the description he gives of her, there is scarcely a doubt of its being the Charlton, mounting ten guns. The prizes are a great incumbrance to me. I feel much confidence in your success, and am anxious to meet as soon as circumstances will admit. It is not improbable that I shall look again into the Bay before leaving the islands.

With much respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes.*

And in the box I put the following note :

Will sail from here to-morrow, the Montezuma, Baxter, and Policy, Bowman, on a whale cruise. *At the foot of this will be found* the quantity of oil each ship has on board.

S. X.

Montezuma, 1300 bbls. sperm oil; 20 ditto black fish.

Policy, 1500 bbls. sperm oil; 25 ditto ditto.

Plenty of turpen at the springs, and some at Pat's landing.

On the 23d I tacked to the eastward, and on the 24th discovered Hood's Island, bearing northwest, distant ten leagues. As we now had a good breeze from the southward, I determined to look in there, with the hope of meeting one of the enemy's vessels, and consequently bore away, with the vessels in company. But, toward evening, the wind grew light and baffling, and a strong current setting directly on the southeast point of the island, we had great difficulty in preventing our ships from being drifted on shore, even after we had succeeded in getting them on the other tack. We made every exertion all night to keep to windward, but without effect; for in the morning Gardner's Island bore west, about three leagues distant. Charles' Island was plain in sight, and, to add to the mortification, the Montezuma (which we had discontinued towing during the night, on account of our own safety) was as far to leeward as we could see her. I found it was in vain to struggle against this eternal current with such dull sailers, and saw no hope of holding our own but at anchor. Our want of water was very pressing, and there appeared no prospect of getting into the continent to procure a supply. I therefore determined to bear away, look into the harbour of Charles' Island, and proceed from thence to the island of Cocos, looking into Banks' Bay in my way there. I had also some hope of meeting the Georgiana, or hearing from her, at Charles' Island. I was the more strongly induced to bear away, as captain Randall informed me, the preceding evening, that he had discovered some of the garbage of whales floating on the surface of the water near Hood's Island, a certain indication of whalers having been lately there. As I believed there were now a greater number about Albemarle than could be managed by lieutenant Downes, I thought it most adviseable to proceed there, entertaining, at the same time, a hope, that by their capture we should be enabled to procure a supply of

water. Shortly after we had bore away, with the Montezuma in tow, a signal was made from the Policy to speak with me. I felt a conviction in my own mind that it was caused by the death of that poor unhappy man, doctor Miller; and on the arrival of the boat along-side, it proved to be the case. He had died a few minutes before the signal was made, and it was supposed that the danger we were in of going on shore the preceding night, as well as the disappointment occasioned by our not being able to get clear of the islands, tended greatly to hasten his death. I directed a coffin to be made for him, with an intention of burying him on one of the islands, if it should be in my power, and requested Mr. Shaw to go on board to make arrangements for his funeral.

I now appointed doctor Hoffman acting surgeon of the Essex, with the pay and emoluments of surgeon. The indefatigable attention of this gentleman to the sick merits the highest encomiums, and to his providential care may be attributed, in a great measure, the extraordinary health we have all to this period enjoyed.

I ran close in for Charles' Island, and sent the boat on shore with the following note, to be left in the bottle, and on her return bore away for Albemarle.

May 25th, 1813.

After vain attempts to get to the continent, I am again brought back by the current to Charles' Island. I shall make the best of my way to Banks' Bay, and shall there look around Rodando and the Culpeppers; and from thence (to make sure work of it) I shall proceed for the island of Cocos, as our want of water makes this absolutely necessary. If, however, it should so happen that the current should change, and the wind favour us in an uncommon degree, I shall proceed agreeably to my original intentions. But I should wish you to touch at Cocos, where it is likely you may find me, or at all events you will know if I have been there; and if it is attended with no other advantage, you will be enabled to fill your water casks. Should you not hear of me at Cocos, you may naturally conclude that I have gone to the appointed rendezvous on the continent.



We have fallen in with the garbage of whales near Hood's Island ; whalers have been about there lately.

I shall anchor in Chatham Bay, in the isle of Cocos ; but for fear of mistake, search both bays ; they are but a few miles apart.

(Signed)

D. P.

Lieutenant Downes had not been there, as every thing remained as we had left it ; nor were there any traces of any other person's having been there since we had left the island. Next day I went on board the Policy, accompanied by most of the officers ; and, after the funeral service of the church had been read by Mr. Adams, the body of doctor Miller was committed to the deep.

On the 27th we were abreast Cape Essex, or the south head of Albemarle ; and as I intended now to go over the cruising-ground of whalers with great care, in order that none should escape me, I caused the prizes to spread off in different directions, keeping at signal-distance, and there to keep a good lookout, with orders to make a signal to me in the event of their discovering any strange vessel. I however directed them to close in with the Essex at night, to guard against separation.

Benjamin Geers on this day departed this life, after an illness of about two hours. He complained of a violent pain in his breast, was constantly calling for water, and died in violent convulsions, frothing very much at the mouth. His death could not be well accounted for ; many were of opinion, and myself among others, that he had taken arsenic ; and yet we could assign no reason for his doing so, as he always appeared perfectly happy and contented. He was a valuable man on board the ship, and his death was much regretted.

On the afternoon of the 28th, as we were standing to the northward with the Montezuma in tow, the Barclay looking out on our starboard, and the Policy on our larboard quarter, the men on the lookout on board the Essex discovered a sail right ahead, and immediately the Montezuma was cast off, and all sail made in chase. At sunset we could see her plainly from deck, and, as she was standing from us with all the sail she could crowd, I entertained no hopes of coming up with her in the night, as I had no doubt

of her altering her course, and thus eluding us. I continued, however, to carry all the sail the ship would bear, in order to near her as much as possible; and being well aware of the prevalence of calms in this quarter, I had strong hopes that, as usual, it would fall calm before morning, and keep us in sight of each other. But as the wind continued fresh, and believing she would change her course as soon as it grew dark, I hove to, at nine o'clock, for the other vessels to come up, when I directed the Montezuma to run northwest (which was his bearing when we last saw him) seven miles, and then heave to, the Barclay to run the same distance to the east, and I intended sending the Policy to the southwest, but she did not come up in time. This arrangement I hoped would enable one or the other of the vessels to get sight of the chase in the morning, and I was not disappointed; for next day the Montezuma made a signal for a sail to the northward, and at the same time we bore away in pursuit of her with all the sail we could carry, but it was not until two hours after we had given chase to her, that we could discover her from our mast-heads. About meridian the wind began to die away; I had now sight of the stranger from deck, and had no doubt of his being an enemy. The Montezuma was still between us and him, and distant from us about six miles. I determined now that he should not again escape us, for I was fully convinced this was the same vessel we had chased the day before. I directed three of the fastest rowing boats to be manned with as many armed men as they could carry, and to proceed, under the command of lieutenant Wilmer, to the Montezuma, with orders to take three of that ship's boats, and before night to proceed to take his station astern of the stranger, so that he could keep sight of him, placing the other in a line astern of him, so that a communication could be had by signal from the headmost boat to the Montezuma, and from thence to the Essex. By this arrangement I hoped to be guided by flashes in my pursuit of the enemy, and prevent the probability of his escaping. I directed lieutenant Wilmer not to make any attack on her, unless it should prove perfectly calm, and then to row up with muffled oars, and board her by surprise. To prevent any other mode of attack being made, I allowed them no other arms than a pistol, cutlass, and boarding-axe each.

After the boats had left us, a breeze sprung up, which enabled us to continue the chase; and, as we soon passed the boats, I made a signal for the Montezuma to heave to and pick them up. As we approached the chase, she hauled close on a wind to the eastward, and shortly afterwards hove about to stand for us. From her warlike appearance, and the signals made by her, I supposed her to be an English sloop of war, as she wore both the English ensign and pendant. I now made such preparations for action as my weak crew would admit of, directing the marines and top-men to lay by their muskets, and, as well as the bracemen and all others on board, to take their stations at the guns. All my officers were away from the ship; but still I could not perceive that the small remains of my men had, in time of need, lost any of their wonted energy and zeal.

We were soon along side of him, when I hoisted English colours, and directed her commander to come on board, which order was soon complied with, when at this instant another strange sail was descried from the mast-head. A few men were taken out of our prize, which proved to be the British letter of marque ship *Atlantic*, Obadiah Wier master, employed in whaling, and mounting six guns, (eighteen pounders.) As soon as the *Montezuma* came up, I threw some men on board the *Atlantic*, with lieutenant M'Knight, and sent her in pursuit of the other stranger to the northwest, while I steered more northerly; for, as the *Atlantic* was reputed the fastest sailer in those seas, I had no doubt, by this means, of rendering her capture certain. We were soon convinced that the *Atlantic* deserved her character for sailing, as during the chase we had very little advantage of her, notwithstanding we had all the sail we could carry, and she the whole time without her studding-sails, having none bent. Night was now fast approaching; we were doubtful whether we were near enough to keep sight of our new chase, which our prisoners informed us was another British letter of marque. As it grew dark, we once lost sight of her; but we soon discovered her again by means of our night-glasses, and on her heaving about to elude us, on the supposition that we could no longer see her, we soon got along side of her, and on firing a shot at her, she hove to. I directed her commander to repair on



board, which he refused to do until he knew who we were. I now perceived by his lights that he was prepared for action, and fired one shot between his masts to intimidate him, threatening him with a broadside if he did not repair on board immediately. This had the desired effect, as he soon came on board, prepared to meet in us an enemy. This vessel proved to be the British letter of marque ship Greenwich, of ten guns, a prime sailer, employed in the whale-fishery. Her captain had taken in a good stock of Dutch courage, and, from the preparations that were made on board his vessel, there could be no doubt of his intentions to have fired into us, had he not been intimidated by the shot we gave him between his masts. He expressed great regret that the Atlantic and his ship had not joined one another before their capture, as he believed they would then have been more than a match for us. Indeed, considering the then weakened state of the crew, and the absence of every officer, (except the chaplain, the clerk, and the boatswain, from whom I received every assistance in their power,) it seems not unlikely, as they were in every respect well prepared for action, that they would have given us some trouble, and rendered the capture of one of them at least doubtful.

I must here observe, that the captain of the Atlantic, (an American from Nantucket, where he has a wife and family,) on his first coming on board the Essex, expressed his extreme pleasure on finding (as he supposed we were) an English frigate in those seas. He informed me that he had sailed from England under convoy of the Java frigate, and had put into port Praya a few days after the Essex, an American frigate, had left there; that the Java had sailed immediately in pursuit of her, and that it was the general belief the Essex had gone around the Cape of Good Hope. He parted with the Java after crossing the line, and on his arrival at Conception, heard she had been sunk off Bahia by the American frigate Constitution. On enquiry respecting the American vessels in the South Seas, he informed me that about Conception was the best place to cruise for them, for he had left at that place nine of them in an unprotected and defenceless state, and entirely at a loss what to do with themselves; that they were almost daily arriving there, and that he had no doubt, by going off there, we

should be enabled to take the most of them. I asked him how he reconciled it to himself to sail from England under the British flag, and in an armed ship, after hostilities had taken place between the two countries. He said he found no difficulty in reconciling it to himself; for, although he was born in America, he was an Englishman at heart. This man appeared the polished gentleman in his manners, but evidently possessed a corrupt heart, and, like all other renegadoes, was desirous of doing his native country all the injury in his power, with the hope of thereby ingratiating himself with his new friends. I permitted him to remain in his error some time, but at length introduced to him the captains of the Montezuma and the Georgiana, who soon undeceived him with respect to our being an English frigate. I had felt great pity for these two last gentlemen, and had made the evils of war bear as light on them as possible, by purchasing of them, for the use of the crew, their private adventures, consisting of slop-clothing, tobacco, and spirits, for which they were sincerely grateful. But towards this man I could not feel the same favourable disposition, nor could I conceal my indignation at his conduct. He endeavoured to do away the impression his conduct had made, by artfully putting the case to myself; and with a view of rendering him easy, as I did not wish to triumph over the wretch, I informed him that I was willing to make some allowances for his conduct.

After the capture of the Greenwich, I informed her commander, John Shuttleworth, as well as Obadiah Wier, of the Atlantic, that I felt every disposition to act generously toward them. Shuttleworth was however so much intoxicated, and his language so insulting, that it was with difficulty I could refrain from turning him out of my cabin. Wier was more reserved during my presence there; but, duty requiring me on deck, he, in the presence of some of the officers, used the most bitter invectives against the government of the United States; and he, as well as Shuttleworth, consoled themselves with the pleasing hope, that British frigates would soon be sent to chastise us for our temerity in venturing so far from home. They were at length, however, shown to the apartment allotted them, where feeling, in some measure, restraint removed, they gave full vent to their anger, and indulged in the most abu-

sive language against our government, the ship and her officers, lavishing on me in particular the most scurrilous epithets, and giving me appellations that would have suited a buccanier. They really appeared to have forgotten they were prisoners and in my power, and that it would be more to their advantage to trust entirely to my generosity, than to irritate me by such unprovoked abuse. However, I determined next day to make them sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, and did so without violating either the principles of humanity or the rules of war. I let them feel that they were dependent entirely on my generosity; and this haughty Englishman, who thought to have terrified us with the name of a Briton, and this renegado, who would have sacrificed the interests of his country, were now so humbled by a sense of their own conduct, and of what they merited, that they would have licked the dust from my feet, had it been required of them to do so.

The whole of the next day was occupied in arranging the crews of our new prizes, and getting the baggage of the prisoners out of them. It afforded me no small degree of pleasure to discover, that the Atlantic had on board about one hundred tons of water, an article of more value to us than any thing else; for we scarcely had water remaining on board our own ship, to take us even to the island of Cocos. Some of our prizes were very far short of the necessary supply; and none of the others had more than sufficient to answer their purpose. It was also a consolation to find, that by these two last vessels we had obtained the most abundant supply of provisions of every description, and naval stores, such as cordage, canvas, paints, tar, &c. &c., more than we required; also seamen's clothing in considerable quantities, and of a superior quality, for our people. As these vessels had been only a few days from James' Island, we found on board them eight hundred tortoises of a very large size, and sufficient to furnish all the ships with fresh provisions for one month.

Our fleet now consisted of six sail of vessels, without including the Georgiana. On board of the last captured vessels I put a sufficient number of men to fight their guns, giving lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Knight charge of the Atlantic, and, for want of sea-officers, I put lieutenant Gamble of the marines in charge of the Greenwich. I had much confidence in the



discretion of this gentleman; and, to make up for his want of nautical knowledge, I put two expert seamen with him as mates, one of whom was a good navigator.

Volunteers continued to offer from the captured vessels, and my whole effective force in those seas now consisted of

The Essex,	mounting 46 guns,	and 245 men,
Georgiana,	16 do.	42 do.
Atlantic,	6 do.	12 do.
Greenwich,	10 do.	14 do.
Montezuma,	2 do.	10 do.
Policy,		10 do.

Making in all, 80 guns, 333 men; together with one midshipman and six men on board the Barclay. My prisoners amounted in number to eighty; but as I had divided them among the different ships, allowing them full allowance of provisions on condition of their giving their assistance in working, we found them as useful as our own men in navigating the prizes. Thus our whole number, including the prisoners, amounted to four hundred and twenty, and all in good health, with the exception of some of the latter, who were slightly affected with the scurvy.

The capture of those vessels, in consequence of the supply of water they afforded, induced me to change my intentions of going to the island of Cocos for a stock. As they were such prime sailers, I hoped that by their taking in tow the Barclay and Policy, while I took care of the Montezuma, we should be enabled to get to windward of the islands, so as to fall in with the track of vessels bound from the continent to the Gallipagos, or, at all events, to reach Charles' Island, where I hoped to join the Georgiana, or, if she should not have arrived there, to leave different instructions for her commander. As we had been swept by the current, for the last two days, considerably to the southward, I believed we should be greatly assisted thereby, and succeed in executing my intentions without much difficulty. The dull-sailing vessels were therefore taken in tow, and every exertion made to get to windward, with the hope of weathering the south point of Albemarle. But although the wind favoured us on every tack, we found it impossible to get around it, as the current, which (until we had brought it to

bear east) had favoured us, now left us, and an adverse current, equally strong, rendered all our exertions to get to the southward ineffectual. Nothing was left for us but to bear away, and endeavour to get around to the northward of the islands. During the calms which succeeded the light and variable winds we had for the three last days experienced, I took the opportunity of getting an anchor and cable, and three thousand five hundred gallons of water, from the Atlantic and Greenwich, as well as a supply of tortoises, and such other articles as we stood immediately in want of.

The Greenwich proved to be the vessel that had been seen by Mr. Adams, and the Atlantic the one that had taken from Charles' Island the barrel of water and bread. This the captain informed me was done with a view of preventing his men from deserting, a circumstance which he greatly apprehended, while they could be certain of finding a supply of those articles on the island.

It seems somewhat extraordinary, that British seamen should carry with them this propensity to desert even into merchant vessels, sailing under the flag of their nation, and under circumstances so terrifying. But yet I am informed that their desertion while at Charles' Island has been very common, even when there was no prospect whatever of obtaining water but from the bowels of the tortoises. This can only be attributed to that tyranny so prevalent on board their ships of war, which has crept into their merchant vessels, and is there aped by their commanders. Now mark the difference. While the Essex lay at Charles' Island, one fourth of her crew was every day on shore, and all the prisoners who chose to go; I even lent the latter boats, whenever they wished it, to go for their amusement to the other side of the island. No one attempted to desert, or to make his escape; whenever a gun was fired every man repaired to the beach, and no one was ever missing when the signal was made.

On the 6th June we were abreast the island of Narborough, and in the afternoon saw a thick column of smoke rising rapidly as from its centre, ascending to a great height in the air, where it spread off in large white curls, and presented us a grand and majestic spectacle. We soon discovered that one of the numerous volcanoes had burst forth; but there were various opinions as to its situation.

Some supposed it to be on Narborough, others to the east of Narborough, and on the island of Albemarle. I was of the latter opinion, which was confirmed next day, when we had changed our position. At night the whole atmosphere was illuminated by it; and yet we could perceive neither flames nor sparks thrown out by the crater. I am induced to believe the irruption was of short continuance, as, on the night of the 7th, I could perceive no appearance of it, although our distance, I should have supposed, would have admitted of our seeing it, had it not become extinct.

The winds now began to freshen from the southeast, and gave us at length some hope of getting from those islands, where we had been so long and unexpectedly delayed by calms and currents. The Spaniards call them the Enchanted Islands, probably, from the great difficulty vessels have found in getting from among them. The title seems well applied, and is such a one as I should have felt disposed to give them, had they been destitute of a name. We have been since the 18th April among them, and the greatest part of the time making every effort in our power to escape; and although good fortune in making prizes has well rewarded us for the time we have spent, still I think it not unlikely we should have been equally successful on the coast of Peru, had we been enabled to return there.

On the 8th we passed to the northward of Abington Island, with a fresh breeze, and all the dull-sailing vessels in tow. But before I bid adieu to the Gallipagos, I shall offer a few hints to those who may hereafter visit them, either with pursuits similar to mine, or in search of whales.

In the first place, I would recommend to those who may come in search of whalers, to make Hood's Island and Charles' Island, both of which places I would advise them to search carefully for vessels and traces of their having been there. From thence they should proceed to Albemarle, looking into both Elizabeth and Banks' Bay; and, should they find none at either of these places, let them proceed to cruise in sight of Rock Rodondo, which lies off the north head of Albemarle. Here they will be sure of meeting with whalers, if they are about the Gallipagos; for this is the position they always attempt to keep, as whales most abound there. They, to be sure, get swept sometimes to the northward and westward, and sometimes, but



less frequently, to the southward, by the rapid currents; but they make every exertion to get back again to their favourite spot. Although the British whalers have, during their wars with Spain, been frequently captured here by Spanish cruisers sent out for the purpose; and have, even in times of peace, been seized here by the Spaniards, on suspicion of having contraband goods, and sent in for adjudication, still they continue to resort here, and will, no doubt, so long as spermaceti whales are to be found. I confidently believe, that in any future war between America and England, and indeed during the present war, an American cruiser may be certain of finding as many prizes as she can man, all fine ships, well supplied, and equipped in a superior manner. Should she at any time need refreshments, none can be better than the tortoises, turtle, and fish, with which the islands and sea abound; wood can be had in the greatest abundance; and at certain seasons, no doubt, water can be obtained without difficulty. It is not unlikely that some of the islands furnish running streams, where ships may always get a supply; but they are little known, and I have to regret that my pursuits did not admit of my giving them a more thorough examination. I have no doubt but the spring formerly mentioned at Charles' Island is a never-failing one, where water may at all times be had; the distance from the sea, to be sure, is great, and but few would attempt to water a ship of war from it; it may, however, be of use to those who are really suffering for water. Colnet and others mention streams of water at James' and Chatham Islands, but I am induced to believe, from what I have learnt from my prisoners, that they owe their existence to temporary rains, and are similar to the place I visited near the basin in Albemarle, where it is said water has been obtained formerly. Supplies from them, however, are too precarious to place any dependence on, and it is adviseable for every vessel visiting the Gallipagos, to lay in a good stock of that necessary article, as they may not be so fortunate as myself in capturing vessels with a large quantity on board, which, although contained in the oily casks of a whale-ship, and from them, as may be supposed, derived no very agreeable taste or smell, but, on the contrary, produced nausea when drank; yet we considered it the most valuable part of our prize. It is not improbable, that,

after heavy rains, vessels may be enabled to procure, as we did, a supply from the hollows of the rocks at Charles' Island. It may, therefore, not be unnecessary to describe the place, in order that it may be found with more ease.

At each end of the longest beach, or landing-place, opposite the anchorage, in Essex Bay, is a deep ravine, formed by the torrents of water which come, during the heavy rains, from the mountains, and are bedded with a hard and porous kind of rock, or lava. We ascended each of those, to the distance of from one and a half to two miles, where we found small hollows, containing, some half a barrel, and others more, but seldom any that contained more than six or seven barrels. But, as incredible as it may appear to those who may hereafter visit this island, and see the difficulties of approaching this strange watering-place, we took from thence to the ship, in three days, about seventy barrels of water, besides a considerable quantity in kegs and jugs belonging to individuals, and considered as a private stock, amounting, in all, perhaps, to ten or twelve barrels more.

It may also be necessary to describe more particularly the route to the springs, in order that it may be found by those who have not been there before. On the west part of the island, about six miles from Essex Bay, is a dark sandy beach, called by the whalers, by way of distinction, the Black Beach, opposite to which is an anchorage for vessels, though much exposed to the prevalent winds, and to a heavy swell which is setting in there, and I have reason to believe the bottom is foul, therefore do not consider it by any means a safe anchorage. From the aforesaid beach is a pathway, much trodden, which leads directly to the springs; and this pathway once found, there can be no difficulty in finding them. They are about three miles distant from the shore, and an abundance of water was to be had when we were there. The road here is the best in the island, though in many places steep and difficult.

The hints already given, intended chiefly for those who may be in pursuit of whalers, may also be of some service to whalers themselves. But as my transactions about these islands have put me in possession of much information respecting the best situations for catching spermaceti whales, the practices of those who follow that business, and the im-

portance of the southern whale-fishery, I hope I may be pardoned for enlarging a little on that subject, for the advantage of those who are strangers to the Pacific ocean.

First, as respects the best place for finding spermaceti whales, I should recommend cruising a short time off the island of Mocha. Indeed, some vessels have filled up their cargoes at this place, and even farther south; but, as they are here subject to a great deal of tempestuous weather, it is found too harassing for their people, and soon brings on the scurvy and other diseases. From thence angle the coast as far down as Conception, keeping the land in sight; and, after cruising here a short time, put into Conception for wood, water, and refreshments, if you have not already obtained them at Mocha. From thence work down along the coast of Chili and Peru, keeping at the distance of from twenty to eighty leagues from the land; make the land in the latitude of  $14^{\circ}$  or  $15^{\circ}$  south, and from thence down to the *Lobos de Mar*, keeping at the distance of from twenty to forty leagues from the land. Cruise close in with the Lobos Islands, as the spermaceti whales resort much to this place, and are frequently taken within two leagues of the shore. From the Lobos Islands proceed to cruise in about the latitude of  $5^{\circ}$  south, angling down the coast, and inclining off shore towards the Gallipagos Islands, about the whole of which spermaceti whales may be found, but in the greatest abundance near Rock Rodondo. To go over the ground I have already marked out, and to examine it with care, will require from three to four months; and it should be so arranged, if possible, that your arrival among the Gallipagos be in the month of May, June, or July. By this means you will escape the most tempestuous seasons of the coast of Chili. After cruising here two or three months, it is likely that it will be necessary to go into port, on account of the health of your people, as not even the tortoises of those islands will prevent their having the scurvy. Proceed now for Tumbez, on the coast of Peru; here you may, if necessary, renew your stock of water and wood, and lay in a supply of vegetables. From Tumbez stretch off to the southward and westward, keeping on that tack until you can make Juan Fernandez or Massafuero; then stretch in for Mocha, and go over the same ground again, if you have not already filled your ves-



sel, and it is likely you will not have done so, unless you have had extraordinary success.

On running down the coast of Chili and Peru, you will frequently observe streaks of coloured water, from ten to twenty leagues from the land, on the outer edge of which is considered good whaling ground, as the squid, their principal food, keep about those places. It must be observed, that where soundings are to be had, spermaceti whales are not to be found.

Secondly, respecting the practices of those who follow this business, I shall only touch on the most important articles, as it is not to be supposed that a pursuit of this nature would be engaged in by those entirely unacquainted with it.

Fine vessels, of from two hundred and fifty to four hundred tons burthen, mounting from six to eighteen guns, and manned with from twenty-five to thirty-five men, abundantly supplied with whaling geer, casks of a superior quality to contain the oil, large copper tanks, iron boilers, skimmers; tubs, leather hose for starting the oil, spare whale-boats, frames, plank, &c. &c., together with three years supplies of provisions of every description, and of the best kind, as well as clothing for the seamen, and as much water as they can carry conveniently, are despatched, at an expense of from fifty to seventy thousand dollars, on those voyages. The crews are entered on shares, and, at the expiration of the voyage, receive their proportion of the nett proceeds thereof, agreeably to the contract they can make with their owners, the captain generally receiving one eightieth part of the whole. Mates, boat-steerers, harpooners, line-managers, oarsmen, ship-keepers, &c. &c., all are allowed their due proportions. The captains are also pursers for their ships, and make large profits on their supplies of slops, &c., and advances of money to their crews. As they are allowed to sell on the coast small quantities of merchandise, to defray the expenses of refreshing their ship's companies, they derive also considerable profits therefrom; and, by means of presents or bribes to the governors and others, are enabled to smuggle on shore, and sell at great profits, considerable quantities of dry goods, which are frequently brought out in their oil-casks, for fear of search being made by the Spanish guarda-costas, and other picaroons which

infest the coast. The smuggling business is monopolized entirely by the governors, they allowing no other person whatever to have any concern in it, unless well paid for granting the privilege.

When the whale is killed, and brought along side the ship, the separating the head from the body, bailing the liquid oil or head matter from the case which contains it, and flinching the whale, or separating the blubber or thick fat from the carcass, as well as trying out the oil, cooling, straining, starting it below, coopering the casks, and frequently wetting and examining them, are all laborious operations, and which it is supposed every one who undertakes to conduct the voyage must be acquainted with, before he engages in the business. If the voyage is successful, every thing that can be made to contain oil is filled with it, even to the buoys of their anchors, jugs, cans, kids, and buckets; and it is no uncommon thing for the oil contained in such small articles to amount to a sum sufficient to pay all the disbursements of a vessel during a voyage of two years. On their arrival in England their cargoes are worth from one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand dollars, when oil is at a fair price, which is from one hundred to one hundred and ten pounds sterling the ton. With good management and proper industry, to which all are stimulated by the hopes of gain, these voyages generally turn out to great advantage, and are never known to fail, unless from shipwreck, or some other unavoidable disaster. Vessels which come into this sea for the purpose of taking spermaceti oil, never consider it an object to take other whales, although they are so abundant that they would be enabled, in a very short time, to fill up their cargoes with the oil; but it is, when taken, of but little value when compared with the spermaceti, and a full cargo in England would not defray the expenses of the outfits. To those unacquainted with the business, it seems a mystery how they are enabled to determine the class of whales before they are taken. An expert whaler will, however, by the manner of his spouting, (at the greatest distance the spout can be seen,) tell in an instant whether it be a hump-back, fin-back, black whale, right whale, (or whale producing the whalebone,) or spermaceti whale. The latter is remarkable for throwing the water directly forward, and making

a short bushy spout of but a few feet above the surface of the sea; whereas, some of the others will throw it the height of thirty feet or more. Their motion is also different, being slow and regular, except when pursued; and their head is remarkable for its length, the nose for its bluntness, and the eye for its smallness, not being larger than that of an ox. The striking of them is attended with more danger than that of any other whale, and they are frequently known to attack and destroy both men and boats.

Thirdly, the fishery is considered by Great Britain of such national importance, that, in the year 1792, that government sent captain James Colnet, of the navy, in the ship *Rattler*, into the Pacific ocean, for the purpose of discovering such ports for the South Sea whale-fishers, who voyage round Cape Horn, as might afford them the necessary advantages of refreshments and security to refit. This voyage was planned in consequence of a memorial from the merchants of the city of London concerned in the South Sea fisheries, to the Board of Trade, which stated the calamitous situation of ships' crews employed in this trade, from the scurvy and other diseases incident to those who are obliged to keep the seas, from the want of that refreshment which is afforded by intermediate harbours.

The Spaniards about that time had admitted British vessels into their ports, for the purpose of refitting and refreshing, but under so many restrictions as almost to amount to a prohibition, in which it was expected to end. It therefore became an object of great importance to obtain such a situation as the British commerce then required, independent of the Spaniards, as it was expected it would in a great measure lessen their jealousy, and at the same time accomplish the wishes of the British merchants. With this object in view, captain Colnet sailed from England on the 4th January, 1793, and returned on the 1st November, 1794, after having doubled Cape Horn, running along the coast of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, touching at the islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrosio, the Gallipagos, Cocos, the isles of Santo Berto, Rocca Partido, Soccoro, and Quibo, and cruising in the Gulf of California. In the course of this voyage, which occupied twenty-two months, it does not appear that he made either any new discoveries, or accomplished the object for which he was sent out. It was



found necessary, therefore, to stimulate seamen to the undertaking voyages of such length and importance, (where their sufferings were like to be so great,) by every motive of interest. To this end, on the 22d June, 1795, the British parliament passed an act for further encouraging and regulating the southern whale-fisheries, in which it is enacted, that for eight whale ships or vessels which shall sail from England on the last day of December of every year, for three years, and proceed into the Pacific, either by the way of the Straights of Magellan, or around Cape Horn, and shall not return in less than sixteen calendar months, nor be absent longer than two years, premiums shall be allowed as follows :

The ship bringing the greatest quantity of oil and head-matter, provided it exceeds thirty tons, is entitled to six hundred pounds : and each of the other seven ships (provided the oil and head-matter exceeds thirty tons) is entitled to five hundred pounds. And on the 25th May, 1811, it was enacted, that premiums should be paid for the three succeeding years to ten ships, under the conditions aforesaid.

It was also further enacted, (with a view of extending the whale-fisheries, and giving encouragement to foreigners to establish themselves in England, and particularly Americans, who were supposed to be the most skilful in that pursuit,) that forty families of foreigners, who had carried on that business, might establish themselves at the port of Milford, in the county of Pembroke, bringing with them twenty ships, with their crews, on giving bond that they will reside in the kingdom of Great Britain during three years, and that they will not absent themselves during that time without the consent of his majesty, except it be on a whaling-voyage. Those ships, on their first arrival, and afterwards, were allowed to import cargoes of oil, on paying the same duties as are paid on oil imported in British vessels, provided the owner had taken the oath of allegiance to his majesty ; in which case, he enjoyed the same privileges and advantages as a British subject, and was entitled to all the bounties and premiums granted to any British ship employed in the whale-fishery, but subject to the same regulations and penalties. An enterprising quaker, named Benjamin Rotch, who had long conducted the

whaling business at Nantucket, embraced the liberal offers of the British government, (the object of which was no doubt the destruction of our fisheries,) and established himself, with several families, at the port of Milford, taking with him a number of ships, where he carried on business to great advantage. One of his ships, (the Montezuma,) with a British register, fell into my hands; and this, it seems, is the only misfortune which has been known to happen to any of his vessels, since he established himself in England.

It is supposed there are not less than sixty ships employed in the southern spermaceti whale-fishery, including those off New-Zealand, Tiane, and about the Cape of Good Hope, which, with their outfits on leaving England, may be estimated at three millions, and on their arrival with their cargoes, to twelve millions of dollars. These ships are bound, under certain penalties, to have on board an apprentice for every fifty tons burthen, who, as well as the rest of their crews, is protected from impressment into his majesty's service. They are all permitted to arm and sail without convoy; but on their return from their voyages, always touch at St. Helena to join the homeward bound fleets, as their cargoes are then too valuable to trust to the paltry defence which they could make with their few men and guns.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## ARRIVAL AT TUMBEZ ; RETURN TO THE GALLIPAGOS.

As I before observed, we passed on the 8th of June to the northward of Abington island, and from thence made the best of our way for the river Tumbez, intending, however, to touch at the island of La Plata on my way there, to leave a letter for lieutenant Downes. I judged, from the difficulties which I had experienced in getting to windward, that he would not be enabled to reach Charles' Island, and consequently would not receive my instructions to go to the island of Cocos, a route, now by no means necessary, as our want of water had been amply supplied by our last prizes. I still, however, felt desirous of joining him as soon as possible, and, feeling much confidence in his punctuality, felt it incumbent on me to repair to the appointed rendezvous with all despatch.

Nothing of consequence transpired from the time of leaving the Gallipagos to our making the land of Peru, in the latitude of  $0^{\circ} 47' 28''$  south, on the 14th. The beginning of our passage the winds blew from the southeast, but, as we approached the coast, they gradually hauled to the south, and when we made the land they blew from the south-southwest. I had felt some uneasiness on account of the difficulty I should meet with in getting to the southward ; but the captains of the prizes assured me we should have the wind and current both favourable as we approached in shore, which proved to be the case. In this run we saw no vessels, although I kept my prizes spread in every direction on the lookout. Every favourable opportunity that offered I embraced, to supply ourselves from our prizes with such things as were necessary for the ship, and, among other precious articles, I was so fortunate as to obtain a new cable sufficiently large for the Essex.

On the night of the 16th discovered the land ahead, bearing S. by E. ; and as we had, the preceding day, been beating up along shore, I had expected in the morning to be up



with the island of La Plata. As the haziness of the weather gave this the appearance of an island, I was fully impressed with a belief of this being La Plata, made every preparation for anchoring, and stood boldly in, keeping the lead going, having regular soundings and muddy bottom; our first cast of the lead giving us forty-five, which gradually shoaled to twenty-five fathoms, without any material change in the quality of the bottom. At break of day we were not more than two and a half miles from the shore, and standing in for a white sandy beach, on which I saw some fishermen hauling their nets. As it grew light I discovered the steeple of a church, and shortly afterwards a town in the mountains. The haze now cleared off, and enabled me to see a great extent of coast. I soon perceived that we had mistaken Cape Lorenzo for the island of Plata, and had been set by the current, which had changed during the night, into the deep bay formed by that and Cape Pasado, in which is the convenient port of Manta, which takes its name from a fish of that name, caught there in great abundance. I had made the signal to prepare to anchor; but, on discovering my mistake, soon changed my determination, although I perceived no danger, and indeed sent a boat in to sound, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, where good anchorage was to be had in fifteen fathoms water, well sheltered from the prevalent winds, and smooth landing. But I could perceive no rivulet of water, though it is not improbable one is to be found there, as the land was very much cut up by deep ravines. This place afforded convenient anchorage; but my object was to touch at the island of Plata, which I had understood furnished both wood and water, as well as good anchorage on the east side, in twenty fathoms, opposite to a small sandy bay. At this place, it is said, admiral Drake anchored, and divided his plunder; and as it was reported to be a place little frequented, and furnishing both hogs and goats, I believed (should it answer the description given of it) that it would be an admirable place for a rendezvous. All British, and indeed other vessels, bound either from the Gallipagos to Tumbez, as well as those from Mexico, Panama, &c. &c., and bound to the south, pass within sight of this island, as indeed do those bound to the north from Lima and other parts of Peru, as well as those from the

coast of Chili. This island was supposed to be the more suitable for our purpose, as it was represented as very high, and affording an extensive view of the horizon. Every exertion was therefore made to reach this desirable spot, which began to show itself above the horizon, bearing southeast, as soon as we had stretched out of the bay. On the evening of the 16th we weathered the island of La Plata, which appeared on every part perpendicular and inaccessible, the surf beating with great violence on the south and west sides. On the summit were thinly scattered prickly pear and other bushes, and off the south side stood a few rocks or islets, or rather detached pieces of the island, for they had been evidently separated therefrom by the sea breaking through. We ran along about two miles to windward of the island, and had twenty-five fathoms, coarse gravel and shells; and as it was too late to give it an examination that night, kept between that and the continent (from which it is distant about five leagues) until the morning, having soundings in from twenty-two to twenty-five fathoms. While standing in for the island, and at the distance of from three to five leagues from it, we saw innumerable shoals of spermaceti whales, all going with great rapidity to the northwest; and the whalers on board assured me, that they never before had seen them in such numbers together. Their keeping so close together, and their rapid movements, they said, was a certain sign of their having been lately pursued, either by whalers, or by a fish very destructive to them, called the whale-killer. When we got on soundings, inside the island, we were surrounded by an equal number of that kind of whale called the fin-back. At daylight I ran in for La Plata, until I supposed myself within two miles of it, when I hove to. A small sail was discovered to the eastward, in chase of which I sent the *Atlantic* and *Greenwich*; then took two whale-boats, and proceeded to examine the island, giving directions to the *Essex* to lie off and on until my return. I soon found I had been deceived in estimation of my distance from the island, for, on my arrival there, I could scarcely see the ships. On the east side I found a soft, white, sandy beach, with smooth water, and every appearance of good anchorage and shelter. On sounding within musket shot of the shore, could get no bottom with twenty-two fathoms

of line, and on the strictest examination could find no fresh water, although I went on shore at every place where it was possible for a boat to land. I can say with safety, that the island of La Plata affords no fresh water, except during heavy rains, which are very uncommon on this coast; nor does it afford wood in sufficient quantities to supply ships.

This island has been much frequented by the pearl-fishers, and those employed in salting fish. Of this we had sufficient testimony in the large piles of shells of the pearl oyster, as well as considerable heaps of salt, and ground cleared away, levelled, and otherwise prepared for drying fish, which are more abundant at this island than any other place I have visited in these seas, and are of the same kind as those found among the Gallipagos. The only birds we found here were boobies, and man-of-war hawks. We saw no seals on or about the island, and only two turtles at some distance from the shore. No animals or their traces were discovered on the shore; and the aspect of the whole island was the most desolate imaginable. It is about eight miles in circumference, and offers no advantages whatever, that I could discover, to induce navigators to touch there. Although it is represented to have been a favourite resort for the buccaniers, who stopped there for the purpose of watching the Spanish fleets, I am induced to believe that the want of anchorage would have prevented their using it for that purpose. But I acknowledge that its want of every other advantage prevented my giving it so strict an examination, in that respect, as I should otherwise have done.

As I thought it not unlikely that Mr. Downes would touch at this place, with the expectation of finding letters from me, I left one suspended in a bottle on the branch of a bush, at the western part of the sand beach. To attract his attention to this place, I painted on the side of a rock the two letters S. X., of so large a size as to be seen at a considerable distance. The sound of these two letters approaching so near to that of the name of the frigate, would be a sufficient proof to lieutenant Downes of our having been there, and would naturally lead to a strict search for further information respecting us; while, at the same time, they would be incomprehensible to any other person, as my letter was couched in such terms as to be understood only by those belonging to the expedition.



I did not get back to the ship until twelve o'clock. The Greenwich and Atlantic had returned from their chase of the strange sail, which proved to be a small Spanish brig, from Panama bound to Payta. On enquiring the news, they informed the commanders of the prizes (supposing them to be English) that a Peruvian privateer, called the Nereyda, had attacked a large American frigate, and shot away her mainmast, and that the Nereyda had suffered much in the action. But finding the frigate too powerful, and at the same time to outsail the Nereyda, she thought it necessary to endeavour to make her escape, to effect which she was compelled to lighten ship, by throwing all her guns overboard.

This small brig had run in and anchored in a spacious bay, to avoid our vessels, but she was followed by them. It was represented by lieutenants M'Knight and Gamble as affording good shelter, anchorage, and landing; and they were informed by the commander of the brig, that an abundance of fresh water was to be conveniently obtained from a well near the sea-shore. The Spaniards called it the Bay of Cabo.

On the 19th, made the island of St. Close, or Deadman's Island. It lies in the mouth of the Bay or Gulf of Guayaquil, and owes its last name to the strong resemblance it bears to a corpse, the head lying to the westward. It is equally desolate in its appearance with the island of La Plata, is about three miles in length, extremely narrow, and is said to have anchorage on the north side. The soundings off this gulf extend out of sight of land, where you have from forty to forty-five fathoms, soft muddy bottom. We all ran in for the river Tumbez, which lies on the south side of the gulf, and anchored in a depth of five fathoms and a half water, soft bottom. The outermost breaker, at the mouth of the river, then bore S. W. of us, distant about one mile; Deadman's Island N. half E. The surf broke with great violence on the bar which runs across the mouth of the river, as well as on the beach, and on first anchoring I saw but little prospect of succeeding in supplying our wants.

I had here to lament the death of the best seaman in my ship. John Rodgers, one of the gunner's crew, had, from too great a fondness for rum, become somewhat inebria-

ted, and while on the mainyard, assisting in furling the mainsail, fell head foremost on deck (on the very spot where Samuel Groce fell) and shattered his skull. His death was instantaneous, and his remains were interred the next day, with the following appropriate epitaph, placed on a board at his head, by his messmates.

Entombed here

The body of John Rodgers, seaman, who departed this life  
June 19th, 1813, aged 32 years.

Without a sigh  
He bid this world adieu;  
Without one pang  
His fleeting spirit flew.

Soon after anchoring, captain Randall proceeded to Tumbez, at my request, to sound the governor as to the reception he was disposed to give us, taking with him a handsome present, and an invitation for him to come on board. He was desired to apologize for my not coming up, on account of indisposition. Soon after his departure we commenced wooding and watering, both of which we found extremely difficult, on account of the violent surf, which frequently broke our rafts, filled our boats, and endangered the lives of those on board them. We in a few days, however, became more accustomed to it, and were better able to guard against its effects.

On the 22d, observed captain Randall's boat crossing the bar of the river, with some strangers, and soon afterwards saw one of them dressing himself in uniform. On her coming along side, was informed that this was the governor of Tumbez, accompanied by the collector of the customs, and an old gentleman who called himself the god-father of the governor, and the governor's son. Although the appearance of the whole was as wretched as can well be imagined, policy induced me to show them every attention; and, to impress them with a belief of my friendly disposition and respect, I gave them a salute of nine guns on their coming on board. While they remained with me, which was until the next day, I paid every attention to them in my power, although their appearance, which frequently excited the ri-

sibility of my crew, made me sometimes blush for my guests. I had, on my first arrival, despatched the Spaniards found on board captain Randall's ship to Guyaquil, with a view of getting them out of the way, and to prevent them from interrupting, by their information, the friendly intercourse I was desirous of establishing, as well as to endeavour to procure purchasers for my prizes, which I had been informed could be readily obtained there. The collector, however, finding we had nothing to smuggle, and giving up all hopes of making a little money in that way, offered to go to Guyaquil, and bring down purchasers for the ships, provided I would give him two hundred dollars for each ship he should be the means of selling. To this bargain I agreed; and the prospect of gaining eight or nine hundred dollars, kept the poor man restless the whole time he was on board, and he promised to start from Tumbez as soon as he could get a conveyance from thence to Guyaquil. To the governor and his suite, I gave presents to the amount of about one hundred dollars, before their departure, with strong expectations of more, and they left me with assurances of the most friendly disposition on their part, and the most pressing invitation for me to go to Tumbez, which I promised to do in the course of a day or two. The next day I visited the town or hamlet. It is situated about six miles from the river's mouth, on the left bank of the first rising ground you meet with. From thence to the mouth of the river the land is all low, similar to that of the Mississippi, covered with rushes, reeds, and mangroves, and here and there, on the most elevated parts, are to be found the huts where the natives have settled themselves, for the purpose of cultivating the soil, which produces, in great abundance, cocoa, corn, plantains, melons, oranges, pumpkins, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, &c. &c. Their houses are formed of reeds, covered with rushes, open at all sides, and having the floor elevated about four feet from the earth, to protect them from the alligators, which are here numerous and of an enormous size. One of them I killed with a musket ball, fifteen feet in length, and of the most hideous appearance. The ball entered below the joint of his fore-leg, near the shoulder, and penetrated his heart, every other part being so well guarded by the thick scales as to render it invulnerable. We saw here vast numbers of wild turkeys, which



prove very troublesome to the planters, as well as parrots, vultures, hawks, herons, pelicans, white curlews, and a great variety of small birds, with beautiful plumage. The river was filled with fish, some of them of a large size, among which the saw-fish abounded. The stream ran in a serpentine manner through the low grounds, and had several outlets, where the surplus waters escaped to the ocean. Several sunken trees render the ascent as well as descent dangerous. The musquitoes were numerous and tormenting, and in almost every respect, this stream bore the strongest resemblance to the Mississippi, except in size and depth, it being not more than seventy-five yards across in its widest parts, and in many places very shallow.

I arrived at Tumbez at eleven o'clock, but took the precaution to have my boat's crew well armed, and every arrangement made to secure a retreat if necessary; for, notwithstanding their professions of friendship, I had reason to doubt their sincerity, from the innumerable instances of their treachery on this coast. I had cause to rejoice in my precautions, as the repeated interrogations of the governor respecting the state of affairs between the United States and Spain, convinced me he had his doubts whether he should attempt to detain me or not, as he was uncertain whether the war between Great Britain and the United States did not extend to their allies, the Spaniards. The hope, however, of further presents from me, as well, perhaps, as the dread of punishment from us, overcame every other consideration; and although there was a degree of restlessness and uneasiness in the governor, that he could not well conceal, he did all that lay in his power to give me the best reception his means would afford. While his wife (who was a handsome young native, of Indian and Spanish parents) was cooking the dinner, I strolled about this wretched place, which consisted of about fifty houses, formed in no way different from those on the banks of the river, except that the reeds were placed closer, in the manner of basket-work; and some of those of the higher class, such as that of the governor and curate, were filled in with mud. The inhabitants gave me the most friendly reception, every where invited me into their huts, where hogs, dogs, fowls, jackasses, men, women, and children, were grouped together, and from whence, in a few minutes, I

was always glad to make my escape, on account of the innumerable swarms of fleas with which they were infested. The house of the governor was no more exempt from this plague than those of the plebeians, of which his wife and naked children bore innumerable testimonies, in the large red blotches on their necks and bodies.

The men of this place seem to be of the lowest class of those who call themselves civilized; and the women, although of fine forms, animated, cheerful, and handsome countenances, are destitute of all that delicacy, the possession of which only can render the female lovely in our eyes. The inhabitants, finding that I had some presents to dispose of, came flocking to the governor's, some with a nosegay, some with a pair of fowls, a half dozen of eggs, a few oranges, watermelons, goats, or whatever else they considered most likely to extort from me something of value. Having soon got clear of the articles I had taken with me, which consisted of silk shawls, &c., and having nothing else to dispose of, I was compelled to leave them, in the expectation of my returning with a larger supply. I left Mr. Shaw, the purser, to procure a supply of fruit and vegetables for the crew, not considering it prudent to remain all night from the ship, a thing I was by no means induced to do on a view of the bed I should in such case have been compelled to occupy, which consisted of four stakes stuck in the ground, with reeds laid across, and over that a thin mat.

On my return to the ship, a most disagreeable circumstance took place, which, for the credit of the ship, and of the officers of the American navy generally, I wish it was not necessary to relate. As, however, it took place in the presence of our prisoners, who no doubt will make their representation of it, with suitable embellishments, alterations, and exaggerations, and as it led to some changes of considerable importance, I conceive it proper to give a correct statement of the affair.

Lieutenant W., the (then) second lieutenant, had in two or three instances been intoxicated, so much so as to compel me once to arrest him, as at such times his conduct had been extremely violent and offensive to all on board. But as this officer possessed many good qualities, and was much esteemed for his goodness of heart, his brother offi-

cers interceded for him, pledging themselves for his future good conduct. On a solemn promise from him, that he would abstain from ardent liquors while he continued under my command, I relieved him from his arrest, and put him to duty, with an assurance, that for another similar offence, his authority should for ever cease on board the Essex.

During my short absence at Tumbez, lieutenant W. felt himself relieved from all restraint, and could not resist the opportunity of again indulging in his horrid propensity, which an abstinence of many months had rendered only more ungovernable, and to which he was strongly invited by captain Shuttleworth, the prisoner whom I formerly mentioned as having conducted himself so improperly. On my return he was officer of the deck, and, fearing that I should discover his situation, he left the deck as soon as I entered the ship, and, while I was engaged in conversation with the first lieutenant, retired to his state-room. Not knowing his condition, I sent repeatedly for lieutenant W., who was reported to me as lying in his cot, and could not be made to answer. He had once before attempted to commit suicide, and I felt apprehensive that he had now made an attempt on his life. I went to his state-room, where I found him in his cot, with his face down; and, after considerable difficulty, and repeated efforts to move him, succeeded in turning him over. He now requested me to let him alone; I told him, as he was evidently in his senses, and apparently knew what he was about, I was determined to investigate the cause of his conduct. He then sprang up, and with great violence of gesture and language demanded to know what I intended to do, observing, at the same time, that he had been drunk, and had not had time to get sober. I informed him that he was under arrest. He asked me how long. I told him, as long as the cruise lasted. He then seized a pistol, which he attempted to load, observing, that neither myself nor any other should have the satisfaction of arresting him. As there was a threatening manner with him, and not knowing whether he intended to use the pistol against me or himself, I grasped him and took it from him. He then attempted to load another, which was also taken from him. He then assured me he had no intentions of using the pistol against me; that, if I would permit him, he would blow his own brains out, ob-



serving, that he would put an end to his existence before morning. I now sent for a guard, and had his room searched for arms, which were all taken away from him, and afterwards confined him there, with two centinels at the door, with orders not to permit him to leave it. When the arms were taken out, he refused to go into the room until some violence was used to compel him; he, however, became at length pacified, and by morning dejected and penitent. He frequently declared, that, as he had violated his promise to me as well as to his brother officers who had interceded for him, he could not survive the shame, and had formed the determination of putting an end to his existence the first opportunity which presented itself.

The ship now being left with only one sea lieutenant, it became necessary to supply the deficiency, and the more so as I had suffered lately much from the want of officers. I therefore ordered lieutenant M<sup>c</sup>Knight to join the Essex, placing Mr. Adams, the chaplain, in charge of the Atlantic; gave the sailing-master the appointment of acting third lieutenant; and appointed midshipman J. S. Cowan acting fourth lieutenant, giving the appointment of sailing-master to midshipman Odenheimer. To supply their places on board the prizes, I put the younger midshipmen, boys from twelve to fifteen years of age, making them nominally prize-masters, with careful seamen, in whom I could confide, to take care of them.

Our wooding and watering went on briskly, and every thing promised a speedy supply to all our wants, except vegetables. On our first arrival boats had come off to the ship; but the governor, finding by the purser's remaining in town he could monopolize the whole trade, forbade every person selling any article whatever, and placed guards at the river's mouth to prevent boats from coming off to us. Hearing nothing of the purser for two or three days, and not knowing the cause of the boats keeping aloof from us, I had some serious apprehensions for his safety. This fear was somewhat increased by the disappearance of one of my prisoners, the mate of a ship, whose absence could not be accounted for in any other way but on the supposition of his being murdered by the natives, for a few dollars he had taken with him on shore, for the purpose of procuring a few articles for the others. He had been permitted to go

on parole, and had left on board a considerable sum of money, as well as all his clothing and other property, and his not returning at the appointed time, caused considerable suspicion to us all. Another circumstance which led me to suspect some treachery was a letter I had received from Guyaquil, which showed the unfriendly disposition of the governor of that place towards us. As the governor of Tumbez was subordinate to him, I felt confident that he would conform to the views of his superior, unless I should secure his friendship by fresh presents, which was what I was by no means inclined to, while we could supply our most urgent wants without his consent.

The letter I speak of was as follows:

Guyaquil, 22d June, 1813.

CAPTAIN PORTER, SIR,

I have seen the description of the four ships that are in Tumbez, knowing that several merchants have seen the same, and all would be willing to enter a negotiation; but it is impossible, as there is no license from the government, and it is losing time to think of the same. The sooner you go off the better. The bearer is at present en declarations en government.

Please to excuse the few words and signing of

Your humble servant

And well-wisher.

The bearer of this carries a few little articles of refreshment, and if they should wish for any little trade they are confident.

I now directed all my watering and wooding parties to go armed, to be prepared for the worst that might happen, and determined (if I should not hear from the purser next day) to go to Tumbez with a few armed boats, to know the cause of his detention.

On the morning of the 24th we discovered three square-rigged vessels standing into the bay, and as they approached with apparent caution, many on board conjectured them to be enemies. I believed it to be lieutenant Downes in the Georgiana, with two prizes, but directed the Atlantic and Greenwich to be prepared to get under way in pursuit of them, if it should prove otherwise. They continued to

approach to the distance of five or six miles of us, when the headmost vessel hove to, and shortly afterwards we discovered a boat, which had left them for the purpose of reconnoitering us. I directed two of the fastest rowing boats to be prepared to pursue her; but on her nearer approach she showed the private signal of the Georgiana, and shortly afterwards lieutenant Downes came on board the Essex, where his arrival was greeted by our crew with three hearty cheers.

He informed me that he had captured, near James' Island, three British ships, to wit:

The Hector of 11 guns, 25 men, 270 tons

Catharine 8 29 270

Rose 8 21 220

The Catharine and Rose approached the Georgiana without the least suspicion of her being an enemy, and the captains of them did not find out their mistake until they got on board her. The Hector was discovered in the afternoon; but lieutenant Downes did not succeed in getting along side of her until late at night; and, as she was very warlike in her appearance, he had made every preparation for action, supposing her at first to be a Spanish sloop of war. His crew at this time only amounted to twenty men and boys, the rest being on board his two prizes, the Catharine and Rose, while his prisoners amounted to upwards of fifty, the most of whom he had confined in irons, to prevent their carrying into execution a plan that had been laid for taking his vessel from him. They all, however, volunteered their services to attack the supposed Spaniard; but lieutenant Downes very prudently considered, that, as he now had them in security, he had better keep them so, as they might not be disposed to return to their irons after being placed at liberty, with arms in their possession. He consequently declined accepting their offers, and trusted to the bravery and exertions of his own men for the success of the attack.

When he had got within hail of the Hector, and ascertained that she was a British ship, he summoned her to surrender; to which he received no reply, but heard her captain give directions for the guns to be cleared away. He now fired a shot, which entered her stern, and did considerable damage, when the captain of the Hector gave orders



for making sail, and on being asked if he intended to surrender, answered, No, no. Lieutenant Downes now opened his fire on the enemy, and after firing five broadsides, which killed two men and wounded six others dangerously, shot away her main-topmast, and most of her standing and running rigging, and rendered the ship a wreck, she struck to the Georgiana. After lieutenant Downes had put a prize crew on board the Hector, his own crew amounted to only ten in number, while his prisoners amounted to seventy five. It became therefore necessary to get clear of them as soon as possible; and as the Rose proved to be a very dull sailing vessel, and had occasioned him considerable delay, he caused all her guns, and most of her cargo, which consisted of spermaceti oil, to be thrown overboard, and gave the ship up to her captain, on condition that he would proceed to St. Helena with all the prisoners, who entered into an obligation not to serve against the United States unless regularly exchanged. He gave to the captain of the Rose a passport for St. Helena, with an assurance, if he attempted to go elsewhere, and should be met by an American cruiser, his vessel would be taken from him. After lieutenant Downes had got clear of those two great encumbrances, the Rose and his prisoners, he proceeded for Tumbez, where he arrived the day before us; but not finding us there, proceeded to cruise off Cape Blanco for a few days, with an intention of looking into Tumbez occasionally.

The Georgiana and her prizes anchored near us, and our fleet now amounted to nine sail of ships. As the Atlantic was far superior to the Georgiana, in size, appearance, sailing, and every other qualification necessary for a cruiser, I immediately gave orders for twenty guns to be mounted on her, and removed lieutenant Downes and crew to that ship, placing Mr. Adams in charge of the Georgiana. To the Atlantic I gave the name of the Essex Junior; and as I had received some additions to my crew by volunteers from prizes, I was enabled to increase her crew to sixty men, and appointed midshipman Dashiell sailing-master of her. I also removed from the Greenwich to the other prizes all cumbrous articles, and converted that vessel into a store-ship, putting on board her, from the rest, all provisions, cordage, and other articles of value to us, and mounted on her twenty guns. By this means I secured to us a supply of al-

most every article we should want for seven months. These changes, and the alterations necessary to be made to fit the Essex Junior for a cruiser, as well as the wooding and watering of the Georgiana and prizes, proved likely to occasion some further delays; every exertion was made to leave the place as soon as possible, and the absence of Mr. Shaw seemed the only important obstacle. At length, however, a boat arrived, and informed me he was on the point of leaving there, and explained the cause of his long detention, which was owing entirely to the avarice and indolence of the governor, who was desirous of monopolizing all the trade, and too indolent to make any exertions to supply our wants. Mr. Shaw at length arrived, but was compelled to leave all the articles he had purchased in possession of the governor, as he could not procure a boat to bring them down. As they were not of sufficient importance to induce me to run any farther risk, I determined to leave them there.

It now became necessary to think of disposing of all my prisoners, as, independent of the inconvenience they were likely to occasion by their great consumption of provisions, they were a great encumbrance to us. As repeated application had been made to me by them to put them on shore at this place, I at length consented, furnishing them with provisions, and giving to them three boats, for the purpose of transporting them and their baggage from the river's mouth to Tumbez, which, with a large canoe and a launch which they hired for the purpose, were found fully sufficient. Previous to putting them on shore, I carefully restored to each prisoner (even to that renegado Wier and captain Shuttleworth) every article which had been taken from them, and all entered into an obligation not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged.

And now having no occasion to remain longer in Tumbez, I on the morning of the 30th made the signal for getting under way. On the 1st, got clear of the Gulf of Guyaquil, and stretched away to the westward, to fall in with the easterly trade-winds, which are seldom met with until you get from one hundred to one hundred and fifty leagues from the land.

As the Essex Junior was very imperfectly equipped for a cruise, I continued in company with her, keeping my carpenters and others constantly at work on board her,

building up breastworks, and making the necessary alterations on board her. On the 4th of July a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the Essex, Essex Junior, and Greenwich, in commemoration of the anniversary of the independence of the United States; and as we were enabled to procure from the prizes a sufficient quantity of spirits to issue to our crew, the day was spent in the utmost conviviality, their grog being doubly relished from their having for some time past been entirely destitute.

On the 9th, having completed the equipments of the Essex Junior, and there being no necessity for my remaining longer with her, I directed lieutenant Downes to proceed to Valparaiso with the prize-ships Hector, Catharine, Policy, and Montezuma, and the American ship Barclay. He had directions to leave the Barclay there, and to sell the others to the best advantage, leaving it discretionary with him whether to send the Policy to the United States, she having a full cargo of spermaceti oil, which cannot be sold on this coast without great loss. I furnished him with blank powers of attorney for appointing an agent for the sale of our prizes; and as I gave him directions to procure for the Essex a quantity of spirits and some other articles, I furnished him with four thousand dollars to make the purchases, in the event of his being disappointed in the sale of the vessels. On leaving me, I gave him sealed instructions, with orders not to open them until he had left Valparaiso, which were as follows:

(CONFIDENTIAL.)

United States' Frigate Essex,  
At sea, 1st July, 1812.

SIR,

On leaving Valparaiso, you will scour the coast of Chili and Peru, keeping the usual distance for whalers. It will be adviseable to look into the harbour of Lima; from thence proceed to the Gallipagos, searching Hood's and Charles' Islands for letters; should you find none at either of those places, look into James' Island. Get clear of all prisoners before leaving the islands if possible, and proceed to join me at the island of Chitahoo, or Santa Christiana, one of the Marquesas, where you will find me at anchor, or



hear from me in Resolution Bay, in the latter part of September, and first of October. I intend there to refit my ship.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes.*

And now finding myself in the latitude of  $7^{\circ} 15'$  south, and nearly in the longitude of the Gallipagos, I parted company with the Essex Junior and her convoy, and stood to the eastward, until they were out of sight. I then shaped my course for the Gallipagos Islands, which I was strongly induced to visit again, as I had received intelligence of three English armed ships having sailed from Tumbez a fortnight before my arrival there. I had every expectation of their having gone to their favourite fishing-ground, and particularly as it was stated that they had information of my being on the coast, had kept together for mutual protection, and had expressed a determination to seek for and attack me.

I kept with me the store-ship Greenwich and the Georgiana, intending to send the latter to the United States on my arrival at the islands, as she had her cargo of oil nearly complete, and the season was now approaching which would be most proper to despatch her. I was desirous that she should approach our coast in the dead of winter, as British ships of war could not, at that season of the year, keep the sea to blockade our northern ports.

On the 12th, I made Charles' Island, and hove to for the night. In the morning I ran close in with Essex Bay, and sent the boat on shore to the *postoffice*. On her return was informed, that all the papers had been taken from the box; that some small kegs, which had been left through neglect by our people, when last there, had been taken away, as well as some wood we had left on the beach. Fresh tortoise shells had been found, which convinced us that some vessel had been there quite lately.

The letters for lieutenant Downes, buried in the bottle, remained, however, untouched. Those were brought on board, and a short note, informing him of the time of my having stopped there, was left in their place. I then bore up for Banks' Bay, and arrived at midnight off the south head of Albemarle, where I hove to, for the purpose of

giving the ground a good examination, and at day-light made all sail to the northward. At eleven A. M. discovered three sail off Banks' Bay, standing on a wind, some distance from each other. I gave chase to the one in the centre; the others, which appeared to be fine large ships, stood on different tacks, with a view of eluding us, while the one I was in chase of bore up from us. I felt apprehensive for the safety of my prizes, which were now a great distance astern of us. The in-shore ship tacked to windward of us, and stood for them, with a view of cutting them off; but my anxiety was considerably relieved, on seeing the Greenwich heave to for the Georgiana to come up, as I was confident it was for the purpose of getting her crew out, as she soon after stood boldly down for the stranger. We were not long in capturing the vessel we were in chase of, which proved to be the English ship Charlton, of ten guns, the captain of which informed me, that the ship now to windward was the Seringapatam, of fourteen guns and forty men, commanded by William Stavers, and that the other was the New Zealander of eight guns.

Notwithstanding the great interest I felt for the critical situation of my prizes, as well as that which every officer must feel when in pursuit of an enemy, I could not help remarking the operations of nature on the south side of Narborough and on the southern part of Albemarle. Narborough appeared to have undergone great changes since our last visit, by the violent irruptions of its volcanoes; and at this time there were no less than four craters smoking on that island, and one on the south part of Albemarle. I should have before mentioned, that a few hours after leaving Charles' Island, a volcano burst out with great fury from its centre, which would naturally lead to the belief of a submarine communication between them.

Perceiving that the New Zealander had hove about to stand toward us, I was impressed with a belief that they had got over their alarm; but, from the manœuvres of the other ship, I was persuaded that she supposed us an enemy, and therefore determined to use every effort to take her first. The Greenwich continued to run down for her, while the Georgiana ran for the Essex. I soon threw a crew on board the Charlton, and gave chase. Several broadsides were exchanged between the Greenwich and

the Seringapatam, when the latter hauled down her colours, but endeavoured to make her escape in a crippled state, having her sails and rigging much cut. The Greenwich kept up the pursuit close on her quarter; the Essex was coming up with her fast; when, in the dusk of the evening, seeing no possibility of escape, the enemy bore up for the Essex, and surrendered his ship. I immediately took the captain and officers on board, left the Greenwich to take care of her, and pursued the other ship, which I captured in about an hour afterwards.

It proved to be the Seringapatam, which had taken the letters, wood, kegs, &c. from Charles' Island. The capture of this ship gave me more pleasure than that of any other which fell into my hands; for, besides being the finest British ship in those seas, her commander had the character of being a man of great enterprise, and had already captured the American whale-ship Edward, of Nantucket, and might have done great injury to the American commerce in those seas. Although he had come into the Pacific on a whaling voyage, he had given but little attention to that object while there was a hope of meeting American whalers. On requiring of this man that he should deliver to me his commission, he, with the utmost terror in his countenance, informed me that he had none with him, but was confident that his owners had, before this period, taken out one for him, and he had no doubt would send it to Lima, where he expected to receive it. It was evident that he was a pirate, and I did not feel that it would be proper to treat him as I had done other prisoners of war. I therefore ordered him and all his crew in irons; but after enquiring of the American prisoners, whom I found on board the prize, as to the manner in which they had been treated by the crew of the Seringapatam, and being satisfied that they, as well as the mates, were not to blame for the conduct of their commander, I liberated them from confinement, keeping Stavers only in irons.

I now bore up for James' Island, at which place I was anxious to arrive, in order that I might, while at anchor, be enabled to get from my prizes such articles as we might want, such as anchors and cables, with which they were well supplied. On account of the violence of the current, which was setting to the northwest, our attempt was inef-



fectual; for, notwithstanding every exertion to prevent it, we were swept to the northwest as far as the latitude of  $2^{\circ} 8'$  north, and seeing no hopes of succeeding in a short time, I determined to give the *Charlton* up to the captain, (as she was an old vessel, and a dull sailer,) on condition that he should land all my prisoners at Rio de Janeiro. To this contract he, as well as the captain of the *New Zealander*, bound themselves by oath; and after taking from her a cable, and such other articles as were necessary for us, and sending all her guns and military equipments on board the *Seringapatam*, I despatched her on the 19th, with forty-eight prisoners. The mates and sailors, however, expressed their determination not to go to Rio de Janeiro with the ship, for fear of being pressed on board a British man of war. They were very solicitous that I would allow them whale-boats, and let them take their chance in them, declaring that any fate, however dreadful, would be preferable to a servitude in his majesty's navy. To this I would not consent, lest it might be supposed I had turned them adrift in the middle of the Pacific. They then requested to remain with the *Essex*. I did not wish to be encumbered by them, and would not agree to this proposal. They, however, at length grew turbulent, and I was apprehensive I should have to use some coercive measures, in order to restore to the captains the necessary authority to keep them in order. But, after reasoning with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they became more orderly, and made sail to the southward, giving us at their departure three hearty cheers, and many (I believe sincere) good wishes for our success, and safe return to America.

As the *Seringapatam* proved to be a fast-sailing ship, and was in every respect calculated for a man of war, (and indeed was built for one, in India, for Tippoo Saib,) I determined to render her as formidable as possible, that, in case of any accident happening to the *Essex*, our cruise might not be entirely broken up. With this view I sent the gunners and carpenters to work on her, and in a few days she was completely equipped, with twenty-two guns mounted on her. I gave her in charge to Mr. Terry, master's mate, with directions not to separate from us, and placed the *New-Zealander* under the charge of Mr. Shaw, the purser, with similar instructions.

We continued our ineffectual exertions to get to the southeast, and on the 22d, discovered Wenam's Island, bearing S. S. E., and Culpepper's Island bearing W. N. W. I saw now that all attempts to get to James' Island were useless, unless we should be favoured by a change of currents. At two o'clock, being but a short distance from Wenam's Island, I went with three boats from the Essex, and one from each of the other ships, and returned before sunset with them all deeply loaded with fish, which afforded several fresh meals for our crew, and if we had been provided with salt, we should have been enabled to procure large quantities of them, but not having any, many were thrown overboard.

Wenam's Island, like the Gallipagos, is evidently of volcanic origin. It is thinly scattered on its summit with withered shrubbery; its sides are every where inaccessible; it affords no anchorage; is seven or eight miles in circuit, and has two small islets, one off the southeast, the other off the northwest parts, but neither more than one hundred yards from the island. But there is no danger, except, from the rapidity of the currents, in approaching it on any side, and there is every where water enough for the largest ship to lie within a few yards of the shore. We saw here but a few turtle, and only one seal. The only birds we saw, were the man-of-war hawk, garnets, gulls, and the black petrell, all of which were very abundant. On the northwest side I discovered the mouth of a cave, very small at the entrance, into which I went with my boat, and proceeded, as near as I can judge, about one hundred yards; and, judging from the beating of the sea against the sides, and the echo from the top, I supposed it to be there, forty yards wide, and twenty yards high. We were, however, in perfect obscurity, and the apprehension of not finding my way out again prevented my proceeding farther. The water was every where of sufficient depth to float a ship of the line, and in this cavern, and at its mouth, we caught the most of our fish. Bait was scarcely necessary, as they were so ravenous as to bite at the bare hook, the line, and at the boat-hook, with which many were caught. They were of that kind called the rock-cod, and were greatly relished by our crew.

I now stood away on a wind to the southward and west-

ward, with a hope of getting beyond the influence of the current, and thus be enabled to reach the islands again.

On the 24th, I determined, for several reasons, to send the *Georgiana* to the United States. In the first place, I considered that, on her arrival on our coast, the season would favour her getting in, as I calculated it would require five months for her to reach it, which would bring it to the dead of winter, and consequently at a time when ships of war cannot cruise on the northern parts, on account of the prevalence of tempestuous weather. Secondly, the ship had a full cargo of spermaceti oil, which would be worth in the United States about one hundred thousand dollars, and could not be sold on this coast without making great sacrifices. Thirdly, I was desirous of getting rid of Stavers: he was a man of great cunning, and considerable observation, and, however desirous I might be of concealing my intentions, I was apprehensive that some circumstances might lead him to conjecture rightly as to my future views; and to put it entirely out of his power to obtain and give such information as was calculated to benefit the enemy, or frustrate my plans, I thought it adviseable (as I always intended sending him to America for trial) to despatch him in the *Georgiana*. Fourthly, repeated applications had been made to me, by the officers, to overlook the offence of lieutenant W.; and his activity and bravery on board the *Greenwich*, during her action with the *Seringapatam*, gave me a secret inclination to do so, without violating my word, or incurring the imputation of inconsistency. To reinstate him on board the *Essex* was entirely out of the question; but I saw no obstacle to giving him command of the *Georgiana* to take to America; an arrangement which gave general satisfaction to every person, as I at the same time liberated him from arrest, and withdrew the charges I had intended to present against him. Fifthly, the period was fast approaching when the times of many of my crew were to expire. I was desirous of sounding them as to their views on the occasion, and, with this object, I permitted the crew of the *Georgiana* to be made up of those whose period of enlistment would expire next month; and I had the great satisfaction to observe but little desire on the part of any to return before the *Essex*. A crew, however, was made up for her, but composed by no means of



the best of my men. Every arrangement being made, the Georgiana left us on the 25th of July, giving us a salute and three cheers at her departure. We had an opportunity, by this vessel, of writing to our friends, and enjoyed, in pleasing anticipation, the effect that the news of our great success would produce in the United States.

We had now got drifted as far to the westward as longitude  $91^{\circ} 15'$  west; our latitude at noon of the 25th, was  $1^{\circ} 8' 25''$  north, the wind from the south, with a strong current ripple. This induced me to believe the current had shifted, and gave me strong hopes of fetching the islands. With this view I made all sail, but was soon compelled to heave to for the prizes, and particularly the New Zealander, which in a short time was run out of sight. The short sail I was compelled to keep under occasioned considerable delay, which, added to the current we still found setting to the west, prevented my making the land until the 27th, when we saw the north part of Narborough, bearing S. E. half E. Being considerably ahead of the prizes, I ran into Bank's Bay, and on satisfying myself there were no vessels there, came out to meet the prizes, and bore away in company with them for the northeast part of Albemarle, intending to proceed to James' Island, to make myself acquainted with its resources, and to search for English whalers. It is said to be much frequented by them, for the purpose of taking in land tortoises and refitting their ships, the harbour having the reputation of being the best among the Gallipagos Islands. At midnight the north head bore S. by W., and Rodondo W. N. W. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 28th, discovered a strange sail to the eastward, and, on viewing her with my spyglass from the top-gallant-yard, she appeared to be close on a wind under her topsails, with fresh breezes, while our ships were lying nearly becalmed, with a strong current setting us with great rapidity for Rodondo, which bore W. by S. A light air, however, springing up from the westward, we made all sail in chase; but the rapidity of the current was so great, that we soon lost sight of the stranger, and at meridian we were driven so close to Rodondo, that we entertained the most lively apprehensions for the safety of the ship. With the assistance of our drags, which were plied with their utmost power, and a smart breeze, which fortunately sprang up at the most cri-

tical moment, it was with some considerable difficulty we escaped getting on shore on it. As the sea was beating with great violence against its perpendicular and inaccessible sides, this apprehension was calculated to produce reflections of no very agreeable nature.

As soon as the ship was out of danger, we began again to think of our chase. We were not in the habit of readily giving up a pursuit while it was probable the chase was an enemy, our uncommon success having taught us to believe that to see and to capture were one and the same thing. Although we had lost sight of her, we still felt confident it would only be for a short time, and that she owed her safety solely to her having a fresh breeze; an advantage we hoped to enjoy equally with her, so soon as we should be enabled to pass the northeast point of Albemarle. I firmly believed that the stranger was a British whale-ship, and bound to James' Island, and every advantage was taken of the light airs which prevailed all that day and the next night, to endeavour again to get sight of her. The next morning, at half past seven o'clock, she was discovered to the northeast from the masthead, standing on a wind towards us, and across our bows. At half past nine she was directly to windward of us, distant about seven miles; and as she had discovered that we were a frigate, and no doubt had intelligence of our being in this quarter, she hoisted American colours, and made all sail from us. Every exertion was made to come up with her, as she was evidently a whale-ship; and from every appearance I had no doubt of her being English. The winds becoming light, inclinable to calm, we made use of our drags, and found considerable advantage from them; but, from the constant labour requisite to work them, our people became very much harassed, and finally worn out with fatigue. We had, however, by the greatest exertions, approached within four miles of the chase, and were enabled, by the assistance of our glasses, to see all his movements. He now got his boats ahead to tow his ship, with a view, as I supposed, of running her on shore on the island of Abington, which was not far distant. To prevent his effecting this object, I despatched the gig and whale-boat, the first under command of lieutenant M'Knight, the other under Mr. Bostwick, clerk, with a few good marksmen to drive them from their boats,

but with the most positive orders to make no attempt on the ship. They soon succeeded in driving the boats along side the ship, but found great difficulty in keeping out of the range of his shot, as he had mounted two guns on his forecastle, with which he kept up a constant fire on our boats, having hauled down his American colours and hoisted English. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 30th, both ships were perfectly becalmed, at the distance of three and a half miles from each other, our two boats lying ahead of the enemy, and preventing his boats from towing; my crew so worn out with fatigue as to be incapable of working the drags to any advantage; the enemy with English, and we with American colours flying. I considered him as already our own, and that the ceremony of taking possession was all that was now requisite. I could plainly perceive that his force did not exceed ten guns and thirty men; and, as any alternative was preferable to working the drags any longer, I, to the great joy of every one on board, gave orders for attempting her with the boats, which were soon hoisted out, manned, armed, and despatched after her. The enemy, seeing so formidable a force coming against him, fired a few guns, apparently with a view of intimidating; but finding that they continued to advance, he ceased firing and hauled down his colours. The boats had now got within three quarters of a mile of him, when a fresh breeze sprung up from the eastward, with which he made all sail to the northward, hoisted his colours, fired at our gig and whale-boat as he passed, which in return gave him volleys of musketry, and before sunset he was hull down ahead of us, while we were lying the whole time perfectly becalmed. Our boats continued the chase, with the hope that it would again fall calm, and made flashes occasionally to guide me in the pursuit, which I was enabled to renew when the breeze struck me, which was not until after sundown. I came up with the boats at nine o'clock at night; we had all lost sight of the enemy, and the apprehension of losing all my boats and officers, and the greater part of my crew, induced me to heave to and take them on board. This was soon done, when I renewed the pursuit on the same course I had before observed him standing, as I did not think it proper to run away before the wind, on the expectation of his having changed his course; as this would have



caused a separation from the prizes, and the strong current setting to leeward would have prevented our rejoining them again for some time. I therefore concluded it best to continue my course on a wind all night, but at day-light, seeing nothing of the enemy, I hove about to rejoin my prizes.

At twelve o'clock next day, we were joined by the Greenwich and Seringapatam, but we saw nothing of the New Zealander until the day following. Nothing, perhaps, could equal our disappointment in not taking this vessel. We had already calculated with such confidence on her, as to arrange her prize crew, and were exulting that we had completely destroyed (with the exception of one vessel more) the British whale-fishery on the coast of Peru. We believed the vessel we were in pursuit of to be the British whale-ship Indispensable, and we knew of no other besides her on the coast, except the Comet of twenty guns, fitted out both for whaling and cruising against the Americans. Great, however, as our mortification was that he should make his escape after so long a chase, we consoled ourselves in some measure with the reflection, that this was the first enemy who had ever escaped us where we had known him to be such, and that his escape was owing only to a fortuitous circumstance, which might not happen again in a thousand chases, and not to any good management on his part, or bad management on ours. Yet, such is our nature, that we could not help blaming fortune for thus jilting us, and for this freak of hers, forgot for a moment all the favours she had hitherto lavished on us.

I now made every exertion to reach James' Island. But light and baffling winds, and a constant lee current, prevented our making any progress until the 3d of August, when the current changed, and ran with great rapidity to the eastward, as it had hitherto done in a contrary direction.

On the 2d, being close by Abington, I had an opportunity of examining the west side of that island, and under a high and inaccessible precipice, opposite to a sandy beach, at the distance of three quarters of a mile from the shore, found a good anchorage in twenty-two fathoms water, over a smooth sandy bottom, well sheltered from the prevailing winds by a point to the northwest of that called by Colnet Cape Chalmers. This place, however, affords anchorage

and shelter only ; it is impossible to penetrate from thence into the island. But I have no doubt landing may be effected elsewhere ; and, from the verdant appearance of the interior of the island, I should suppose that, like all the others, it affords tortoises. On the small beach opposite the anchorage, we found one turtle, and in the bay an abundance of fish were caught by the boat's crew. I attempted to ascend a small hill on the south point of the bay, and the only one that had the appearance of being accessible, for the purpose of taking a better view of the bay, in order to discover if there were any sunken rocks or other dangers. But I soon was compelled to desist, as the loose lava, ashes, and other volcanic substances, which were constantly giving way under me, rendered my ascent very difficult, and descent dangerous. From thence I proceeded to the north part of the island, which wholly consists of hard black lava, totally destitute of vegetation, and apparently owes its existence to an eruption of no distant period. The whole of the west as well as the north part we found to be inaccessible, and of the same dreary appearance. We shot here a number of seals, and, after loading our boats with fish, returned to the ship.

## CHAPTER IX.

## JAMES' ISLAND; FORT RENDEZVOUS.

ON the morning of the 4th, at six o'clock, we were between James' Island and Albemarle, beating up the passage, which is about eighteen miles wide, to reach the harbour, which was now in sight, when the New Zealander, being far to leeward, made a signal for a strange sail to the eastward; but on chasing, it proved to be a rock off the east part of James' Island. This prevented our getting into the bay until half past two, when we came to an anchor in six fathoms water, within a quarter of a mile of the middle of the beach, over a soft sandy bottom, and moored with our bower-anchor to the southward, and the stream to the northward, the southwest part of Albany Island bearing northwest by north; Cape Marshall, on Albemarle, northwest; and the west point of the bay southwest by south. I caused the prizes to moor ahead and astern of the Essex, in a line along the shore, so close as to prevent an enemy from passing inside of us in case of attack, and directed their commanders to keep them constantly prepared for defence. I caused the pinnace and cutters to be hoisted out, rigged, and anchored in shore, to be in constant readiness for service, in the event of an enemy appearing. After every arrangement was made that could suggest itself to me for the safety of the ships, as well for offensive as defensive operations, I commenced making those little repairs, which every ship requires, in a greater or less degree, on going into port, after being some time at sea. I also filled up my water from the New Zealander, took on board such provisions and stores as were requisite for us, and removed from the Seringapatam to that vessel all empty casks and other cumbrous articles, taking from her such provisions and stores as were not necessary for her, and might hereafter be wanted for us, and put them on board the Seringapatam. I also caused the Seringapatam to be painted exactly like the Essex, so that it would have been very diffi-



cult to know them apart at a short distance. I then changed entirely the appearance of the Essex, and gave to the Greenwich the aspect of a sloop of war, hoping at some future period to derive some advantage over the enemy, by the deceptions I should be enabled to practise by means of those changes.

It became necessary to take all our powder on shore, for the purpose of sunning and sifting it. I discovered, to my great regret, that nearly one third of that contained in casks was damaged and unfit for use, in consequence of the water having entered the magazine, either during our passage around Cape Horn, or (which is more likely) while our rudder coat was in a damaged state, off the coast of Patagonia. We were, however, enabled to get a considerable quantity from the Seringapatam, which (although it left that ship nearly destitute) in a great measure supplied our deficiency.

We here, after painting our ships, repairing our sails and boats, setting up our rigging, and doing various other jobs which could not be done conveniently at sea, began to lay in our stock of tortoises, the grand object for which every vessel anchors at the Gallipagos Islands. Four boats were despatched every morning for this purpose, and returned at night, bringing with them from twenty to thirty each, averaging about sixty pounds. In four days we had as many on board as would weigh about fourteen tons, which was as much as we could conveniently stow. They were piled up on the quarter-deck for a few days, with an awning spread over to shield them from the sun, which renders them very restless, in order that they might have time to discharge the contents of their stomachs; after which they were stowed away below, as you would stow any other provisions, and used as occasion required. No description of stock is so convenient for ships to take to sea as the tortoises of those islands. They require no provisions or water for a year, nor is any farther attention to them necessary, than that their shells should be preserved unbroken.

The shells of those of James' Island are sometimes remarkably thin and easily broken, but more particularly so as they become advanced in age; when, whether owing to the injuries they receive from their repeated falls in ascending and descending the mountains, or from injuries re-

ceived otherwise, or from the course of nature, their shells become very rough, and peel off in large scales, which renders them very thin and easily broken. Those of James' Island appear to be a species entirely distinct from those of Hood's and Charles' Islands. The form of the shell of the latter is elongated, turning up forward, in the manner of a Spanish saddle, of a brown colour, and of considerable thickness. They are very disagreeable to the sight, but far superior to those of James' Island in point of fatness, and their livers are considered the greatest delicacy. Those of James' Island are round, plump, and black as ebony, some of them handsome to the eye; but their liver is black, hard when cooked, and the flesh altogether not so highly esteemed as the others.

The most of those we took on board were found near a bay on the northeast part of the island, about eighteen miles from the ship. Among the whole only three were male, which may be easily known by their great size, and from the length of their tails, which are much longer than those of the females. As the females were found in low sandy bottoms, and all without exception were full of eggs, of which generally from ten to fourteen were hard, it is presumable that they came down from the mountains for the express purpose of laying. This opinion seems strengthened by the circumstance of there being no male tortoises among them, the few we found having been taken a considerable distance up the mountains. One remarkable peculiarity in this animal is, that the blood is cold. I shall leave it to those better acquainted with natural history to investigate the cause of a circumstance so extraordinary; my business is to state facts, not to reason from them.

The temperature of the air of the Gallipagos Islands varies from 72° to 75°; that of the blood of the tortoise is always 62°. After the most diligent search, no appearance of fresh water could be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the tortoises were taken, although some of the seamen searched to a considerable distance from the seashore. Yet each of these animals had in its stomach or reservoir from one to two gallons, of a taste by no means disagreeable, and such as thirst would readily induce any person to use. From this circumstance, as well as from the verdant appearance of the interior, I should be induced

to believe, that this island furnishes springs of water in its mountains, but that they are soaked up by the loose and thirsty lava and cinders, of which it is chiefly composed, long before they can reach the sea. The eggs of the tortoise are perfectly round, white, and of two and a half inches diameter. They are far from being a delicacy when cooked, as they are dry, tasteless, and the yolk is little better than saw-dust in the mouth.

The sea and land guanas abound at this island; flamingoes and teal of an excellent quality, may be killed in a salt lagoon, a few rods back of the beach opposite to where the ships lay; and the species of doves formerly mentioned may be killed with the greatest ease, in any numbers, in every part of the island. They are fat and delicious; and the land guana is superior in excellence to the squirrel or rabbit. Fish were caught in considerable abundance, with our seine as well as with hooks and lines, along side the ship, and with our boats near the rocks. We did not resort to the first mentioned expedient through scarcity, but for the sake of procuring a greater variety, as we were thereby enabled to take mullet of a superior quality, and other fish that do not bite at a hook. The rock-fish did not here yield in abundance or excellence to any place we had yet been in; and among other delicacies we were enabled with ease to supply ourselves abundantly with crayfish, at low water, among the rocks, where they were caught by hand.

We found captain Colnet's chart of the island, as far as he surveyed it, sufficiently accurate for our purpose. But we neither found his delightful groves, his rivulets of water, nor his seats formed by the buccaniers of earth and stone, where we might repose ourselves after our fruitless search for them. Led by his description of the beauties of the island, I proceeded to the southwest part of it, as far as Watson's Creek, and on rounding the second point from the ship, I landed in a small cove, on a white beach formed of small pieces of coral. This we found had been the principal landing place of ships which have visited here for the purpose of procuring tortoises. The land here is level, and upon an extensive valley, which lies between two remarkable mountains or craters of extinguished volcanoes, strongly resembling each other. You may proceed



GALLAPAGOS TURTLE.





for about three miles without experiencing much inconvenience, except from the intense heat of the sun, (from which there is nothing to screen you but a few withered dwarf trees, destitute of leaves,) and from occasionally falling into the holes made by the guanias in the loose cinders, heated by the sun's rays. To these obstacles may be added, occasionally encountering in your route beds of sharp lava. To such as are bare-footed, or whose shoes are not remarkably good, and provided with thick soles, this transition from hot to sharp and from sharp to hot is equally desirable, for either of the evils is so great that they cannot be long borne at a time, and of the two it is difficult to say which is the least. On my return to the beach from my excursion, however, I discovered beauties that had before escaped my notice. A verdant mangrove, which had shot its branches into the sand, formed an arbour that afforded an agreeable shade. After supplying ourselves with seats from the stones in the neighbourhood, Mr. Adams and myself made a hearty meal from the tortoises, cray-fish, crabs, &c., that had been procured in the vicinity, for which our promenade in the delightful grove of captain Colnet had not a little contributed to give us a relish.\* We met with great numbers of English mocking-birds, hawks resembling the falcon, a considerable variety of smaller birds, some resembling the small common sparrow, some not unlike the brown Canary-bird, the small black bird found in Charles' Island, and a black bird with a red breast. We saw but few seals, and the only aquatic birds we met with, were pelicans, boobies, and petrells. A few small snakes were seen, much resembling the common

\* At every place where we landed on the western side, we might have walked for miles through long grass, and beneath groves of trees. It only wanted a stream to compose a very charming landscape. This isle appears to have been a favourite resort of the buccaniers, as we not only found seats, which had been made by them of earth and stone, but a considerable number of broken jars scattered about, and some entirely whole, in which the Peruvian wine and liquors of that country are preserved. We also found some old daggers, nails, and other implements. This place is, in every respect, calculated for refreshment or relief for crews, after a long and tedious voyage, as it abounds with wood, and good anchorage for any number of ships, and sheltered from all winds by Albemarle Isle. The watering-place of the buccaniers was entirely dried up, and there was only found a small rivulet between two hills, running into the sea; the northernmost hill forms the south point of Fresh-Water Bay.

*Colnet's Journal, page 156.*



American striped snake, and a great number of lizards. In the bottom of the crater of the northern mountain, near the foot of which we landed, some of my sailors, who had been there in search of tortoises, informed me, that they had found one barrel of fresh water contained in the hollow of a rock. This is the only fresh water we saw on any part of the island, and it cannot be come at without the greatest difficulty and danger, which none would attempt to overcome but such as, like our sailors, had been long confined on shipboard. Feeling all restraint removed while on shore, they delighted in making an extensive range, and in overcoming difficulties which to others appeared insurmountable. From this place we procured about seventy-five tortoises; but as the men had to bring them from a distance not less than three miles, and as the fatigue was excessive, this was the only time we visited it. The parties which went to the northeast part of the island were more successful, and gave a more favourable account of the facility of getting them down to the beach. They reported, also, that there was every appearance of good anchorage on the northeast, in a bay not inferior in its appearance to the one we were then occupying. Mr. Adams, with his usual zeal, proceeded to sound and survey it, and reported anchorage about half a mile from the shore, in thirteen fathoms, sandy bottom. This bay was distant from where we lay about eighteen miles. I gave it the name of Adams' Bay.

I proceeded to examine Fresh-water Bay, and Fresh-water Valley, as they are called by Colnet. In the former there are appearances of anchorage. We found great quantities of broken jars, such as the Spaniards transport their liquids in; a deep ravine, evidently formed by violent torrents; but it was perfectly dry, and had the appearance of having long been so. Three separate times I examined Fresh-water Valley, when we first arrived, and twice after showers of rain; but all my researches were ineffectual, although I traced the ravine of this place to the top of the mountain. While I was about embarking to return, I perceived three or four small birds, of the size of a sparrow, fluttering about a moist place, on the side of a cliff, over my head. On farther observation, I perceived that the small birds of this description constantly resorted here for

the purpose of sucking the moisture from the rock; and, by a closer examination, I discovered that beneath this place a small and rude basin had been formed in the rock, for the purpose of catching the drops of water, which perhaps at certain seasons of the year trickle down the side of the cliff. At the time I visited the place the basin was perfectly dry; and I should not have known the purpose for which it was intended, had I not noticed the marks of a pickaxe, or some other iron instrument, in the rock. Of these places captain Colnet, in his view of James' Island, gives the following description:

"Round the northwest point is a small bay, which I take for the one the buccaniers call Fresh-water Bay, in which were many of their traces, such as old jars, &c.; also ground cleared away, either as a platform for guns, or to land stores, &c.; but the water since then has taken a different course, and falls down between two hills, and runs over a little cliff of rocks into the sea."

"As soon as the ship was secured, I set out with Mr. Sharp to search for water in Fresh-water Bay, where the buccaniers had formerly supplied themselves, but the surf prevented us from landing. We rowed close to the beach, but saw not the least signs of any spring or rivulet. Boats were despatched from both vessels to different parts of the shore, and my chief mate was sent away to the south for a night and a day. On the following morning, at the dawn of day, the whaling-master was ordered to land if the surf was fallen, and search Fresh-water Bay. He accomplished getting on shore, but found no water; in the evening the chief mate returned with the same account of his unsuccessful errand. For my own part, I never gave up my opinion, that there was plenty of fresh water in the isle; but as neither of my boats were in a condition to encounter the least bad weather, I deferred taking a survey of the isle till they were repaired."—*Colnet's Journal*, page 158.

"These isles deserve the attention of the British navigators beyond any unsettled situation; but the preference must be given to James' Isle, as it is the only one we found sufficient fresh water at to supply a small ship."—*Colnet's Journal*, page 158.

It seems from captain Colnet's account, that his principal motive for going to James' Island was to accompany

an English ship called the Butterworth, commanded by a Mr. Sharp, whom he accidentally met off Banks' Bay in distress for want of water; and that he persuaded Mr. Sharp to proceed to this place, where he was confident he would procure a supply. But as he did not find it immediately on his arrival, he sent the Butterworth daily supplies of that article, which produced a consequence captain Colnet little apprehended, for from that moment Mr. Sharp neglected to look for water. Captain Colnet, it seems, from civility to the owners of that ship, had determined to keep company with her during the voyage, and to give her only a monthly supply; and this information, it appears, stimulated Mr. Sharp to search for water, which he found within two miles of his ship. Now it seems extraordinary that the place where so important a discovery was made, should not have been pointed out by captain Colnet. I have, however, reason to doubt the correctness of his statement, as I have carefully examined James' Island for fresh water, and so have many others of my officers and crew, for at least twelve miles to the southward of our anchorage, and as much as six miles to the northward. Indeed, several have searched to the northeast eighteen or twenty miles, and none of us yet have been able to discover any of that precious article, except the small damp place on the cliff at Fresh-water Valley, and the small quantity in the bottom of the crater of the aforementioned mountain. It is true, he might have arrived there after a long spell of rainy weather; but it seems it was in the latter part of April, after cruising some time among the islands for whales; and if he had experienced so extraordinary a thing as heavy rains among the Gallipagos, I think he would have noticed it in some part of his journal. There can be no doubt, that, at some former period, small quantities of water have been procured from the place called Fresh-water Valley; and, indeed, the old captains of some of the captured ships have informed me, that they have, by great care, obtained from ten to twelve gallons in twenty-four hours. This is the most they have ever known to be procured; and it rarely happens that this much can be got. When so inconsiderable a quantity can be obtained, how could captain Colnet so far impose on the



world, as to hold out encouragement for vessels to stop there for water?\*

That the island affords water in the interior, there cannot be a doubt; but this can only be of service to the tortoises, whose patience and perseverance enable, and whose instinct teaches, them to find it. But it certainly cannot be supposed, after what captain Colnet has said of Fresh-water Bay, and Fresh-water Valley, that it was from either of those places that the Butterworth procured her supply; for it seems that an unsuccessful search was made there by captains Colnet and Sharp on the first arrival of the ships. They could not land on account of the surf; they rowed close to the beach, but saw not the least sign of any spring or rivulet. Boats were sent in different directions, and the mate and whaling-master of captain Colnet's ship were ordered on the search, but without success. Captain Colnet proceeded also himself on the search, and was equally unsuccessful with the rest; yet the captain of the Butterworth found it within two miles of his ship, and we are not informed in what direction! Where is the advantage of James' Island furnishing fresh water "sufficient to supply a small ship," if we are ignorant where it is to be found? Surely captain Colnet could not have been ignorant of the importance of this information, and, as he has not given it, I must take the liberty of doubting the correctness of his statement, page 153 of his journal.\* However, he has committed so many errors in his description of this island, as well as in the chart he has drawn of the whole group, that in their multiplicity, this single one might be passed over in silence, were it not for the deplorable consequences that might result to a whole ship's company, who, when short of water, should (relying on Colnet's statement) put into James' Island for a supply. To prevent the ill effects of information so calculated to mislead, I felt it my duty to point out the inaccuracy of the statement. If it is true that the captain of the Butterworth obtained the supply of water mentioned, it was more the duty of captain Colnet to have particularized the spot, considering the object for which (as he informs us) he was sent into this sea.

I have now the painful task of mentioning an occurrence

\* See the quotations from Colnet, page 219.

which gave me the utmost pain, as it was attended by the premature death of a promising young officer, whereby the service at this time has received an irreparable injury, and by a practice which disgraces human nature. I shall, however, throw a veil over the whole previous proceedings, and merely state, that without my knowledge the parties met on shore at day-light, and at the third fire Mr. Cowan fell dead. His remains were buried the same day in the spot where he fell, and the following inscription was placed over his tomb :

Sacred to the memory  
OF LIEUT. JOHN S. COWAN,  
Of the U. S. Frigate Essex,  
Who died here anno 1813,  
Aged 21 years.

His loss is ever to be regretted  
By his country ;  
And mourned by his friends  
And brother officers.

Having entirely changed the appearance of the ship, so that she could not be known from description, or taken for a frigate at a short distance ; having made all the repairs which our sails, rigging, boats, &c., required, made a new main-topsail, a considerable quantity of cordage from old rope, and supplied ourselves with such articles as we required from the prizes, as well as broken up our hold, cleansed and re-stowed it, scrubbed our bottom, on which considerable quantities of grass and barnacles had collected, and supplied ourselves abundantly with such refreshments as the island afforded, we, on the morning of the 20th August, got under way. Prior to my leaving the place, I buried a letter for lieutenant Downes, in a bottle at the head of Mr. Cowan's grave, and a duplicate of the same at the foot of a finger-post, erected by me, for the purpose of pointing out to such as may hereafter visit the island the grave of Mr. Cowan. With a design of misleading the enemy, I left in a bottle, suspended at the finger-post, the following note :

The United States frigate Essex arrived here on the 21st July, 1813, her crew much afflicted with the scurvy and ship-fever, which attacked them suddenly, out of which she

lost the first lieutenant, surgeon, sailing-master, two midshipmen, gunner, carpenter, and thirty-six seamen and marines.

She captured in this sea the following British ships, to wit: Montezuma, Policy, Atlantic, Catharine, Rose, Hector Charlton, Georgiana, Greenwich, Seringapatam, and New Zealander; but for want of officers and men to man them, the four last were burned; the Rose and Charlton were given up to the prisoners.

The Essex leaves this in a leaky state, her foremast very rotten in the partners, and her mainmast sprung. Her crew have, however, received great benefit from the tortoises and other refreshments which the island affords. Should any American vessel, or indeed a vessel of any nation, put in here, and meet with this note, they would be doing an act of great humanity to transmit a copy of it to America, in order that our friends may know of our distressed and hopeless situation, and be prepared for worse tidings, if they should ever again hear from us.

The British prisoners have been landed at Tumbez, and sent to St. Helena and Rio de Janeiro.

The following is a list of the names of those who died as above mentioned, to wit.

(Then followed a list of forty-three names.)

While we lay at the bay in James' Island, (which I called Cowan's Bay,) we put our goats on shore to graze, keeping a person to attend them through the day and give them water. As they were all very tame, and kept about the landing-place, we every night left them on shore. There was one young male, and three females, one of which was of the Welch breed, and was with young by a Peruvian ram with five horns, which we had taken in one of our prizes; the rest were of the Spanish breed. The sheep were also left on shore with them; but one morning, after they had been there several days and nights, the person who attended them went on shore, as usual, to give them their water; but no goats were to be found; they had all, as with one accord, disappeared. Several persons were sent in different directions, for two or three days, to search for them, but without success. They undoubtedly took to the mountains in the interior, where unerring instinct led them to the springs or reservoirs from whence the tortoises



obtain their supply. Owing to this circumstance, future navigators may perhaps obtain here an abundant supply of goat's meat; for, unmolested as they will be in the interior of this island, to which they will no doubt confine themselves on account of the water, it is probable their increase will be very rapid. Perhaps nature, whose ways are mysterious, has embraced this first opportunity of stocking this island with a race of animals, who are, from their nature, almost as well enabled to withstand the want of water as the tortoises with which it now abounds; and possibly she has so ordained it, that the breed which shall be produced between the Welch goat and the Peruvian ram shall be better adapted to the climate than any other.

I shall leave others to account for the manner in which all those islands obtained their supply of tortoises and guanias, and other animals of the reptile kind; it is not my business even to conjecture as to the cause. I shall merely state, that those islands have every appearance of being newly created, and that those perhaps are the only part of the animal creation that could subsist on them, Charles' and James' being the only ones where I have yet been enabled to find, or been led to believe could be found, sufficient moisture even for goats. Time, no doubt, will order it otherwise; and many centuries hence may see the Gallipagos as thickly inhabited by the human species as any other part of the world. At present, they are only fit for tortoises, guanias, lizards, snakes, &c. Nature has created them elsewhere, and why could she not do it as well at those islands?

There was one fact, which was noticed by myself and many others, the day preceding the departure of the goats, and must lead us to believe that something more than chance directed their movements. It was observed that they all drank an unusual quantity of water; the old Welch goat particularly did not seem satisfied until she had drunk upwards of half a gallon, (which for a goat, it must be admitted, is an extraordinary draught,) and the others a quantity not far short of it, which seems as though they had determined to provide themselves with a supply that would enable them to reach the mountains. This fact, which bears something the appearance of the marvellous, I do aver to be as strictly true as any other I have stated, and

in no one instance have I exaggerated, or gone beyond the bounds of strict veracity.

I now made the best of my way for Banks' Bay in company with my prizes, and fixed on the small cove inside of Narborough as a rendezvous for them in case of separation. It was my design to leave them there until I took a short cruise among the islands, in order to make myself acquainted with all their resources, and with the hope of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels. I had also the design of leaving instructions for lieutenant Downes at Charles' and Hood's Islands, similar to those left at James', that, in case he should fail in finding my letters in one place, there might be a chance of his finding them in another, and thus our meeting be rendered more certain.

On the 22d I reached Banks' Bay, and directed the prizes to proceed into the cove, with the following orders, which will sufficiently explain the arrangements made, as well as my future designs; after which I stood out of the bay.

U. S. Frigate Essex,  
Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

SIR,

You will proceed to the cove with the Greenwich, and moor her agreeably to the instructions already given you. The crew of the Greenwich will be kept complete, for the protection of the other vessels, and, in the event of being attacked, you will call on the other prize-masters and their men to assist on board your ship; but it is expected you will only act on the defensive. Should I not appear in six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will proceed for Valparaiso, in company with the Seringapatam, after the articles of value are taken from the New Zealander, and that ship is burnt. If, however, lieutenant Downes should appear before the expiration of six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will please to deliver him the enclosed letter, which contains instructions for the guidance of his conduct respecting the disposal of the prizes.

I must recommend your keeping constantly on your guard, with a lookout from a suitable point. Let the ships be ready for sea on the shortest notice, and suffer no guns to be fired, no fires at night, nor any other practices by which you may be discovered.

Should I appear off with an English red ensign, hoisted union down, at the fore, you will send a boat on board the Essex. If the same signal is made at the main, it will be for the Seringapatam and New Zealander to send their boats for their crews, and you will please to furnish them assistance for the purpose, if necessary. Should you leave the cove before I arrive, you will bury a bottle, containing a letter, in some suitable spot, near the landing-place at the head of the cove, and cut in the rocks immediately over it the letters S. X., in order that I may be enabled to find it.

I need not inform you how important it is that the prizes should not fall into the hands of the enemy. Your situation will render their destruction (in the last extremity) very easy. I would recommend to you to have as many boats, as may be necessary for the escape of their crews, in constant readiness for service, and a sufficiency of provisions and water, &c. &c., provided for them at the shortest notice; and, in the event of the necessity of taking to them, I would advise your proceeding to Charles' Island, as the most likely place of meeting with the Essex Junior, or Essex; and, in case you should not fall in with either, it appears the most likely place for you to take by surprise some British vessel. Trusting much to your discretion,

I have the honour to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John M. Gamble, Prize-master  
of the ship Greenwich.*

P. S. It is likely I shall be in the bay again in twenty or twenty-five days.

U. S. Frigate Essex,  
Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

SIR,

You will proceed to the cove with the prize under your command, and moor agreeably to the instructions I have given you. When you have properly secured your ship, you will send on board the Essex all your crew, except the following, to wit: one quarter-master, one seaman, and two ordinary seaman; and you will give every aid in your power to lieutenant Gamble to protect the ships against any force



that may attack them. Should you not hear from me in six weeks from the time of my leaving this, you will burn the *New Zealander*, after taking every article of value from on board her, and putting them on board the *Seringapatam*, and assist with your crew in navigating her, in company with the *Greenwich*, to *Valparaiso*, unless the *Essex Junior* should arrive within that period, in which case lieutenant Downes will have instructions from me as to the disposal of the vessels.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

D. PORTER.

(Signed)

*Mr. John R. Shaw, Prize-master  
of the ship New Zealander.*

Corresponding instructions were delivered to Mr. James Terry, prize-master of the ship *Seringapatam*.

U. S. Frigate *Essex*,  
Banks' Bay, 21st August, 1813.

SIR,

I have directed the prize-ships *Greenwich*, *New Zealander*, and *Seringapatam*, to proceed to the cove, and there await my arrival six weeks from this date. I left letters for you at James' Island. I shall now proceed to Charles' Island, and from thence to Hood's Island, at both of which places I shall leave instructions for you. I intend to cruise a short time about Hood's and Chatham Islands. Should I not arrive at the cove by the 2d October, you may calculate that some accident has happened to me; and at the expiration of that period, you will take the prizes under your convoy, and proceed with them to *Valparaiso*, where you will pursue that course most likely to conduce to the good of the service.

I have the honour to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

D. PORTER.

(Signed)

*Lieutenant John Downes, Commanding the  
U. S. armed Prize-ship Essex Junior.*

## CHAPTER X.

GALLIPAGOS ISLANDS; DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON  
ISLANDS.

ON the 24th, I stretched in toward the cove, to meet the boats which I expected off with the crews of the *Seringapatam* and *New-Zealander*, and at one o'clock discovered them on a sand beach on *Narborough*, where they had landed to await our coming in. About an hour afterwards they came on board, with twenty-one men from the two ships. We had now got to the entrance of the passage between *Narborough* and *Albemarle*. A steady breeze from the northwest, and a current setting from the same quarter, as well as a desire of looking into the cove, to see in what order the prizes had been secured, altogether tempted me to endeavour to go through the passage. In this I could perceive no danger whatever, nor had I ever heard of the existence of any, except what arose from the violence of the current, and a reef off the southeast part of *Narborough*. Accordingly, all sail was made; but, contrary to my expectations, the wind died away at sunset, and shifted ahead, leaving us nearly becalmed until after dark, when a brisk breeze sprang up from the southwest, with which, after great anxiety and uneasiness on my part, we succeeded in beating through. But this anxiety was unnecessary, as the passage is as safe as any other that is liable to sudden shifts of wind and rapid currents. Soundings were obtained in mid-channel with eighty fathoms of line, coarse gravelly bottom. There appears no danger in lying any distance from the shores of either side, with the exception of the aforesaid reef, which we got sight of before night, and which does not extend more than a mile and a half from the shore. On the beaches of the *Albemarle* side, we saw vast numbers of turtle, and seals kept playing around us during the whole passage, which may properly be called a sound.

I had here an opportunity of seeing in what manner the

seals are enabled to devour their prey when in the water, which had hitherto been a mystery to me, they not having feet to assist them in tearing to pieces the large fish they frequently take. One ran near the ship with a large red fish, of the snapper kind, in his mouth. This fish was still alive, and made considerable struggle; the seal reared himself out of the water as far as his breast; then throwing his head around on one shoulder, appeared to rally all his strength, and jerking it with great violence to the other, throwing the fish at a great distance from him, tearing off with a jerk a mouthful, which he greedily swallowed. By repeating this action, he in a few minutes devoured the whole fish, which, from its size, I should suppose, weighed at least ten pounds. It was in vain that the man-of-war hawks, boobies, pelicans, and other birds which hovered over him, endeavoured to seize on his prey; his activity baffled all their attempts, and prevented them even from picking up the scraps which frequently flew off from the fish as he threw it from him.

After getting clear of the sound, I stood out of the bay, and at 12 o'clock at night was off the south head of Albemarle. Here I continued beating to windward until the 29th, without gaining much ground, on account of the prevalence of a rapid current setting to the westward. At length, however, the wind hauled to the southward, and enabled us to make Charles' Island on the 31st, where I sent my boat on shore, with a letter for lieut. Downes, similar to that left at James' Island. On her return, I was informed that every thing remained as I had left it, there being no appearance of visitors having been there since my departure. We had had several showers of rain while in the neighbourhood of the isle, and, from the heavy clouds hanging over it, I had hoped to obtain there a supply of water, and gave directions that our former watering-places should be examined, but was informed that they were entirely dried up, not a drop of water remaining in the places where we had formerly obtained it. I now made sail for Chatham Island, running along to windward of Barrington Island, which appears bold and free from danger. Towards sunset, the man on the look-out cried out, *a sail to the northwest!* All sail was made in chase, but in a short time we discovered from the masthead, by our glasses, that it was one of two rocks that lie off the



north end of Porter's Island, which we have called Bainbridge's Rocks. At night the weather became thick and hazy; and at ten o'clock, supposing myself nearly up with Chatham Island, I hove to, with the ship's head to the S. W. In the morning the Kicker Rock, which lies off the mouth of Stephen's Bay, bearing E. N. E., distant about ten miles. I made sail for it, and at nine A. M. anchored in Stephen's Bay, in twelve fathoms water, sandy bottom, the Kicker Rock bearing W. half N., Dalrymple Rock S. W. by S., the west point of the bay S. W. half S., and the north point N. N. E. In running in, we passed to the north of the Kicker Rock, at the distance of two cables' length, and obtained no bottom with thirty fathoms of line.

This rock is very remarkable in its appearance, and is the surest mark for finding the bay. It is very high, flat on the top, and from some points bears strongly the appearance of a castle. On the western side the rock is split from the summit to the base, and the part detached stands like an obelisk on a very narrow base, and from its slender appearance seems as if ready to tumble down at every breeze. The bay is capacious, well sheltered from the prevailing winds, and there is good landing on several small white sandy beaches. To the northwest of our anchorage is a small cove, which would afford good shelter for vessels not drawing more than ten feet water. We found here sea turtle in the greatest abundance, and of a most excellent quality, of which we took on board as many as we could stow away, some of them weighing upwards of three hundred weight. They were found always at low water, lying on the small sandy beaches below the rocks. We killed also a number of seals, the skins of which were very serviceable to us as mockasons, made after the manner of those of the North American Indians, and were a very good substitute for shoes, of which we began to stand in need. Our seamen converted them into caps, hats, and various other articles of use to them. We obtained here a large quantity of prickly pears, of a size far exceeding any I had hitherto met with. They were found on low trees, growing among the hard beds of lava which skirt the bay, and were gathered in quantities more than sufficient for the supply of the whole ship's company, some of them of the size of an orange, and nearly equal to that fruit in excellence. Their juice, when

stewed with sugar, made a delicious sirup, while their skins afforded a most excellent preserve, with which we made pies, tarts, &c. We saw, in some small lagoons at the back of the beaches, teal and plover; but as I had forbid the use of fire-arms, in consequence of the scarcity of powder, we did not obtain any of them. Cray and other fish were found here in abundance, but we were not enabled to procure any tortoises, though there can scarcely be a doubt that an abundance of them are to be found on other parts of the island.

The vegetation on that part forming the bay was entirely burnt up, and, with the exception of the prickly-pear trees, there was no verdure whatever for the support of animal life. These were so situated among the sharp beds of lava, it would be impossible for the tortoises to approach them. We saw a few of their shells and bones; but they appeared to have been long dead. We were not enabled to make any progress into the interior of the island, on account of the great difficulty of walking; nor would I permit the boats in their search to go beyond the points of the bay, as I wished to be always prepared for getting under way at a moment's warning. Indeed, the great number of tortoises we brought from James' Island, and the supply of turtle we had here obtained, left no room for adding to our stock, if we had found them. We saw here none of the land guanas; and the only animals of the reptile kind we met with were a few lizards. Land birds were very scarce; boobies, pelicans, and man-of-war hawks, were in abundance.

This island, like all the rest, is of volcanic origin; but the ravages appear less recent here than at most of the others. Its vegetable productions are the same, with the exception of the cotton tree, of which I saw no vestige. But, owing to the extreme drought, it may have perished in this part, and perhaps exists in the interior, where there is some appearance of verdure. At James' as well as at Charles' Island, the cotton tree grows very luxuriantly, most of the trees being from eight to ten feet high. It appears to be of the same kind as that produced on the Mississippi; but, for want of culture, the pods do not produce in such large quantities, nor is the cotton equal in quality; attention to its cultivation would, no doubt, greatly improve

it. The soil of these islands, although dry and parched up, seems rich and productive; and, were it not for the want of streams of fresh water, they might be rendered of great importance to any commercial nation that would establish a colony there. They afford good harbours, are situated in the finest climate under heaven, are in the neighbourhood of the best fishing-ground for the spermaceti whales, and afford a rich supply of fresh provisions, in the land tortoises and other animals with which they abound. Nothing is wanting but water; and I am still of opinion that may be found. A fine spring was discovered in Charles' Island, not far from the sea-coast, in a place by no means promising in its appearance; and I think, by a strict search, an abundance may be procured. We have seen, from what Patrick effected, that potatoes, pumpkins, &c., may be raised of a superior quality, and with proper industry the state of these islands might be much improved.

Chatham Island differs little in its appearance from all the rest: the land in the interior is high, thrown up in irregular hills by the operations of volcanoes, and the sea-coast bounded by loose flakes of lava. On the north side of the bay is a high bluff, where Colnet states that he found a rill of fresh water. I gave it the most careful examination, and could not find the smallest quantity. The rise and fall of the tide here is about eight feet.

After scrubbing our ship, we on the 3d of September left Chatham Island, and stood over for Hood's Island, where we anchored on the 7th, in a bay on the north side, formed by a small island and some islets on the east. Previous to going in with the ship, I sent lieutenant Wilmer with directions to place a buoy in the most suitable anchorage; and, as the wind was directly out of the bay, beat up for the buoy, making short tacks. We got twenty-five fathoms about two miles from the shore, clean sandy bottom, and anchored in nineteen fathoms, one mile and a half from a white sandy beach in the bottom of the bay, near the middle of which is a remarkable black rock, lying about forty yards from the shore. Between this and the shore is a passage for vessels of a light draft of water.

This bay I called Rodgers' Bay, and the island forming it Rodgers' Island, in honour of commodore Rodgers. The best anchorage is about the middle of the bay, in twelve fa-



fathoms water, where you lie well in the bank, and there is little or no danger of drifting off. We lay too far out, and on the edge of the bank, where it was very steep; our anchor, as I before observed, lay in nineteen fathoms, while our stern lay in twenty-seven. We were moored with our ridge to the westward, the northwest point of the bay bearing W. by S.; the northwest point of Rodgers' Island E. N. E.; the south point E. by S. three quarters S.; the west point of the south part of Chatham Island north; the east point N. by E. three quarters E.; Barrington Island N. W. by W.; and Charles' Island W. S. W. The wind, during the day, generally blew from the southeast, but at night it was calm; the tides set E. N. E. and N. N. W., along the land, and the rise and fall was about ten feet.

We here procured an abundance of fish along side with the hook and line, but were not enabled to procure more than fifty tortoises, and they small, but of a quality far superior to those found on James' Island. They were similar in appearance to those of Charles' Island, very fat and delicious. The vegetable productions were nearly the same as those of the other islands, and the island is evidently of volcanic origin, but it appears to have been a long time since it has suffered from their ravages. Few birds are found here, and they of the same description as those found on the others. We saw a few lizards, but no snakes nor guanias. We killed a few seals, and saw a number of turtle, but caught none; and on the most diligent search could find no fresh water. Wood is scarce, very small and withered; and the whole island, and every thing on it, appears parched up and famished for the want of rain.

We lay here until the 8th September, in hopes of the arrival of lieutenant Downes, or the appearance of some stranger, as this is the island which all whale-ships endeavour to make, running down for Albemarle between it and Chatham Island. On the 8th I prepared to weigh, but, previous to quitting the bay, sent on shore a letter for lieutenant Downes, similar to those left at Charles' and James'. It was buried in a bottle at the back of the sand beach, at the foot of a post, on which was nailed a board, with the following inscription,—S. X., Anno Dom. 1813.

And now having accomplished the main object for which

I had come to this island, I determined to cruise a few days to windward of it, with the hopes of falling in with him there. I was the more strongly induced to do this, from having for some time past been extremely harassed by being so much among those islands, our knowledge of which was as yet by no means perfect, and whose rapid and irregular currents kept me in a constant state of anxiety, from which I was glad to be relieved for a short time. A fresh breeze springing up from the southward, which caused us to drift off the bank, I weighed anchor, and stood on a wind to the eastward, keeping the island in sight from the deck, bearing W. Here I remained until the 13th September, when I ran down for Charles Island, looking into Hood's Island, searching for M'Gowen's Reef in my rout, and can now with safety declare, that M'Gowen's Reef does not exist but in the chart of captain Colnet.

Off the northwest part of Hood's Island, about two and a half miles from the shore, is a reef of some extent. It should be avoided. This is the only danger I could discover, and it lies so close in, and breaks with so much violence, that it may at all times be discovered in time to shun it. This, however, is not M'Gowen's Reef, which by Colnet's chart lies nearly half way between Hood's and Barrington Islands, and in the direct passage of vessels running down between Hood's and Chatham for Charles' Island; whereas, the one I speak of lies close under Hood's Island, and is joined to it by other rocks.

I looked into Charles' Island, and stood down for Cape Essex, intending to cruise for a few days off the south part of Albemarle, and at midnight of the 14th, hove to, the southern part of Albemarle bearing north, distant nine or ten leagues. At day-light in the morning, the men at the masthead descried a strange sail to the southward. On going aloft with my glass, I could perceive that she was a ship, and under very easy sail, apparently lying to. As she was directly to windward of us, I did not wish to alarm her by making much sail, as I believed her to be an English whaler. I consequently directed the fore and main royal-yards to be sent down, and the masts to be housed, the ports to be shut in, and the ship to be disguised in every respect as a merchantman, and kept plying to windward for the stranger under easy sail, as he continued to lie to, drifting down on us

very fast. At meridian, we were sufficiently near to ascertain that she was a whale-ship, and then employed in cutting up whales. From her general appearance, some were of opinion that it was the same ship that had given us so long a chase, and put us to so much trouble, near Abington Island. She was, however, painted very differently, and from her showing no appearance of alarm, I had my doubts on the subject. I had got possession of some of the whalemen's signals, and made one which had been agreed on between a captain William Porter and the captain of the *New Zealander*, in case they should meet. I did not know but this might be captain Porter's ship, and that the signal might be the means of shortening the chase, by inducing him to come down to us.

At one o'clock we were at the distance of four miles from the chase, when she cast off from the whales she had along side, and made all sail from us. Every thing was now set to the best advantage on board the *Essex*, and at four o'clock we were within gunshot, when, after firing six or eight shot at her, she bore down under our lee, and struck her colours. She proved to be the British letter of marque ship, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, pierced for twenty guns, commissioned for sixteen, but had only twelve mounted, with a complement of thirty-six men, and commanded by the identical captain Porter whose signal I had hoisted. But the most agreeable circumstance of the whole was, that this was the same ship we had formerly chased; and the captain assured me, that our ship had been so strangely altered, that he supposed her to be a whale-ship until we were within three or four miles of him, and it was too late to escape. Nor did he suppose her to be a frigate until we were within gun shot, and indeed never would have suspected her to be the same ship that had chased him before, as she did not now appear above one half the size she did formerly.

The decks of this ship were full of the blubber of the whales they had cut in, but had not time to try out. The captain informed me there was as much as would make from eighty to ninety barrels, and that it would require three days to try it out. But as I understood that it would be worth between two and three thousand dollars, I determined that it should not be lost. I therefore put on board



her a crew who had been accustomed to the whaling business, and placed the ship in the charge of Mr. Adams, the chaplain, with directions to try out and stow away the oil with all possible expedition. But that he might do it more conveniently, I directed him to bear up for the harbour where the other prizes lay, (which I have called Port Rendezvous,) and where I intended to run with the Essex. But the wind growing light, and having a strong current against me, I was not enabled to get abreast the harbour until ten o'clock at night; and not conceiving it prudent to run in, I stood through the sound into Banks' Bay. This I was the more strongly induced to do, as lieutenant Gamble had come off in his boat to the Essex, and informed me that the lookout had reported that he had heard several guns to the northward the day before; and that, since my departure, a ship had appeared in Banks' Bay at three different times. But on comparing the dates of her appearance with the logbook of the Sir Andrew Hammond, it proved to be her. The guns I could not so well account for, nor could I for the appearance of a fresh whale carcass that had lately come into the bay. I therefore took a look in the offing; but, perceiving no vessels, I beat up for Port Rendezvous against a fresh land breeze, and anchored there in fifteen fathoms water, a little outside of all the prizes, being one and a half cables' length distant from each side of the harbour, and two and a half or three cables' length from the bottom of the port. I here moored head and stern, and lay perfectly secure from all winds. The officers and crews of the prizes, as may naturally be supposed, were greatly rejoiced to see me, as they were heartily tired of being confined to this most desolate and dreary place, where the only sounds to be heard were the screechings of the sea-fowls, and the melancholy howlings of the seals. Their rest was much disturbed the few first nights of their arrival there, but after that the seals abandoned their haunts; and even their absence was regretted, as their noise, disagreeable as it was, served to break in upon that irksome monotony, which, for the want of occupation and amusement, became to them insupportable.

The time was now arriving for me to expect lieutenant Downes. I therefore determined to fill up my water and provisions from my prizes, and wait until the 2d day of

next month, which was the period fixed for our departure. I had determined, should he not arrive in that time, to leave letters for him, and proceed to either the Marquesas or Washington Islands, where I intended to clean my ship's bottom, overhaul her rigging, and smoke her to kill the rats. These had increased so fast as to become a most dreadful annoyance to us, by destroying our provisions, eating through our water-casks, thereby occasioning a great waste of our water, getting into the magazine and destroying our cartridges, eating their way through every part of the ship, and occasioning considerable destruction of our provisions, clothing, flags, sails, &c. &c. It had become dangerous to have them any longer on board; and as it would be necessary to remove every thing from the ship before smoking her, and probably to heave her out to repair her copper, which in many places was coming off, I believed that a convenient harbour could be found among one of the groups of islands that would answer our purpose, as well as furnish the crew with such fresh provisions and vegetables as might be necessary during our stay there, by which means we should be enabled to save our salt provisions.

The Sir Andrew Hammond having an abundant supply, I hauled her along side, and took from her as much beef, pork, bread, water, wood, and other stores, as we required. But what was more acceptable to our men than all the rest, I took from her two puncheons of choice Jamaica spirits, which was greatly relished by them, as they had been without any ever since our departure from Tumbez. Whether it was the great strength of the rum, or the length of time they had been without, I cannot say; but our seamen were so affected by the first allowance served out to them, that many were taken to their hammocks perfectly drunk; and indeed there was scarcely a seaman in the ship but that was in some degree intoxicated. To prevent a recurrence of a similar scene, I caused it to be considerably diluted before it was again served out. This, however, did not prevent some from getting intoxicated, as the rum was such a rarity to them, and so far superior to what they had been accustomed to drink, that an allowance of it would command almost any price. As several found the ways and means to make their purchases, drunkenness could not be effectually stopped, as I did not conceive it expedient to

resort to rigid measures. Considering the long time they had been deprived of it without murmuring, and the great propensity of seamen for spiritous liquors, and as no evil was likely to result from a little inebriety, provided they conducted themselves in other respects with propriety, I felt disposed to give them a little latitude, which in no instance was productive of unpleasant consequences, except one. James Rynard, a quarter-master, had belonged to the Essex four years, and had at times endeavoured to render himself of importance among his ship-mates, by placing himself at the head of all parties formed for the purpose of obtaining redress of grievances. If any provisions were supposed to be of a bad quality, Rynard was always engaged stirring up others to complain, but took care to conduct himself in such a manner as to let it be supposed, by the officers, that he was perfectly contented; nor did he dare, except at one time, to come forward boldly, and that was at the reduction of the allowance of rum on the coast of Brazils. He then supposed all hands to be of his disposition, and placed himself as spokesman at their head. I had always marked him as a rogue. That was his character with all that knew him; and at this moment, and with such a crew, I had reason to believe that Rynard might, from his habitual villany and restlessness, be enabled to stir up discontent among them. It must be remembered, that their times had mostly expired; they saw no appearance of any intention on my part of returning to America immediately; and at such a moment the secret villany of Rynard was not to be despised. He had ever endeavoured to distinguish himself as their champion; and although I believed that he was considered by every man in the ship a notorious villain, still I did not know how far his influence might extend. I had, therefore, long determined to get clear of him on the first favourable opportunity. One was not long in offering itself. I had directed him to proceed to superintend some duty on board one of the prizes; he appeared, a short time after I gave him the order, somewhat intoxicated, and insolently told me he had not been sent from the ship in a proper manner. Finding him in this state, I directed him to stay aft on the quarter-deck until he was sober. He attempted, however, shortly afterwards, to rush by me. His dinner was taken on deck to him by his



messmates ; this he threw overboard in the presence of the officer of the deck, and at the same time demanded permission to go below ; and while the officer of the watch was reporting to me his conduct, he left the deck. I then caused him to be confined there in irons, and as he had dropped some expressions respecting his time being out, and treated with derision (more by his actions than his words) his confinement, I determined at once to discharge him. I therefore directed the purser to make out his accounts, and send him on board the Seringapatam, until we should arrive at some place where he could be put on shore. The discharge of Rynard produced an effect I little expected ; it rendered every man in the ship sober, attentive, and active in the performance of his duty, and assiduous to please. Those who had shown themselves more forward than the rest, now appeared desirous, by their good behaviour, to do away any unfavourable impression that their conduct at that time might have produced.

The officer having charge of the New Zealander informed me, that his ship required caulking in every part. I consequently set my carpenters at work on her, and in the mean time the *Sir Andrew Hammond* was painted and otherwise put in order. The crews of the prizes were again sent to them, and on the 28th, we had completed all our work ; each ship had provided a stock of turtle, and we had nothing now to detain us but the expected arrival of the *Essex Junior*. We had, ever since our arrival, kept men constantly on the lookout from the top of the hill forming the north side of the port, which commanded a view of both bays. Here we had a flag-staff erected, and suitable signals established, to which point the attention of every one was now turned. On the meridian of the 30th, a signal was made for a ship in the south bay, and shortly after another was hoisted for a boat standing in for the harbour. A fresh breeze springing up, she soon rounded the southeast point of Narborough, and from her general appearance all believed it to be the *Essex Junior*, which opinion was soon confirmed by the arrival of lieutenant Downes, who had left the ship early in the morning, while she was becalmed. His arrival was welcomed by our seamen with three cheers ; and at three P. M. the *Essex Junior* anchored near us. By this ship I received several let-

ters from our consul-general at Valparaiso, as well as other friends there; also letters from our consul at Buenos Ayres, and newspapers, which, though of old dates, contained news of the greatest interest to us.

We obtained intelligence by them of the re-election of Mr. Madison to the presidency, and various changes in the different executive departments of the government; as also the most satisfactory accounts of the successes of our navy, in every instance where our ships had encountered an enemy of equal force. My letters from our consul at Buenos Ayres informed me, that on the 5th July, the British frigate *Phœbe*, of thirty-six guns, and the *Raccoon* and *Cherub* sloops of war, of twenty-four guns each, accompanied by a store-ship of twenty guns, had sailed from Rio de Janeiro for the Pacific ocean, in pursuit of the *Essex*. I also obtained intelligence that several British merchant ships were soon expected at Valparaiso from England, with valuable cargoes; and Mr. Downes informed me, that he had left one there richly laden, and on the point of sailing for India.

Lieutenant Downes had moored the *Montezuma*, *Hector*, and *Catharine* at Valparaiso, but had despatched the *Policy* for America, as there was no prospect of selling the ship or her cargo to any advantage at Valparaiso. An open declaration of war had taken place between Chili and Peru, and an entire stop put to the commerce between the two governments, which had hitherto continued uninterrupted, notwithstanding their hostilities to each other.

The Chilians showed to lieutenant Downes the same friendly disposition which I had formerly experienced, and every facility was offered to him in procuring his supplies, as well as those wanting for the *Essex*. He met with some delays in consequence of the stagnation of commerce, but every assistance that the government could give him was afforded.

The only British whale-ship we could hear of on the coast was the *Comet*, a letter of marque of twenty guns, which had been taken from her by the government of Chili, in consequence of her having been active in favour of the Peruvians. She was therefore laid up at Concepcion. She and the aforesaid ship at Valparaiso bound to India, and the English brig which I found there on my arrival, were

the only British vessels that I could hear of on the coast of Chili and Peru. As I believed it highly probable, that the ship bound to India would touch at the Marquesas on her way thence, I thought it likely, that, by a speedy arrival there, I should be enabled to capture her. None of the information I had received could induce me to alter my original plan of going to the Marquesas. The repairs and smoking of my ship were paramount to every other consideration, and I knew of no place where I could be more likely to do it undisturbed.

The morning after the arrival of the *Essex Junior*, I hauled her along side of the *Essex*, and took from on board her a quantity of rum and other articles. And now, having nothing to detain us but a head wind, we made every preparation for getting under way, which we were not enabled to do until the afternoon of the 2d of October, when a light land breeze sprang up, which we took advantage of to get out of the harbour. But as it soon after shifted to the southward, we were the greater part of the succeeding night in beating through the sound (which I call Decatur's Sound) into the south or Elizabeth Bay.

Prior to leaving the cove, Rynard wrote a penitent letter to me, begging me to overlook his conduct, and reinstate him on board the *Essex*. This however I would not consent to; but at his request, as well as that of lieutenant Downes, I agreed that he should join the *Essex Junior* in the capacity of seaman, on his promise that in future there should be no cause of complaint against him.

And now I shall notice the important services rendered by our coming into the Pacific. In the first place, by our captures we had completely broken up that important branch of British navigation, the whale-fishery of the coast of Chili and Peru, having captured all their vessels engaged in that pursuit except the aforesaid ship *Comet*. By these captures we had deprived the enemy of property to the amount of two and a half millions of dollars, and of the services of three hundred and sixty seamen that I liberated on parole, not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged. We had effectually prevented them from doing any injury to our own whale-ships, only two of which have been captured, and their captures took place before our arrival. Shortly after my appearance in



those seas, our whale-ships, which had taken refuge at Conception and Valparaiso, boldly ventured to sea in pursuit of whales. On the arrival of the Essex Junior at Valparaiso, four of them had returned there with full cargoes, and were waiting for a convoy to protect them some distance from the coast, that they might be enabled to take the advantage of the winter season for getting into a port of the United States. This protection lieutenant Downes was enabled to afford them on his departure from thence; and the four ships lying there, as well as my prize, the Policy, sailed in company with him until he had seen them a sufficient distance beyond the usual cruising ground of British armed ships.

NOTE A. *Page 1.*

Prior to the pilot's leaving us, I caused him to deliver into my possession all letters which might have been given him by the crew, apprehensive that, from some accidental cause, they might have become possessed of a knowledge of our destination. They all, however, contained only conjectures, except one, the writer of which asserted, as he stated, from good authority, that we were bound on the coast of Africa. As some of their conjectures were not far from being correct, I thought it best to destroy the whole of them, and forbid the pilot's taking any more without my consent. To the officers who were desirous of writing to their friends, I enjoined particularly not to mention the movements of the ship in any way.





EXPLANATION OF THE SKETCH OF THE ISLANDS OF ST. CATHARINES AND ALVARADO.

*(See the Plate of Head-Lands.)*

At the time these appearances were sketched, we were in fifty fathoms of water; the ground was soft blue mud, very tenacious, and of an almost impalpable grain. The wind was very light and variable, and much of our progress toward the entrance of the sound we were obliged to make by beating; consequently, we had the better opportunity for proving the soundings. Our aim, in fetching the entrance, was to reach, as near as we could with safety, the south point of Alvarado. The lead, while on either tack, was kept constantly going; the ground was uniformly of the same quality, and the soundings very gradually decreased. When we had arrived between the northern point of St. Catharines and the southern point of Alvarado, the distance between them being about two and three quarter miles, and the latter point about one mile distant from the ship, we found the depth of the water to be twelve and three quarter fathoms, and the ground of the same quality as before, except its being a little harder, and intermixed with some coarse white grains of sand. Having passed these points, we proceeded, about midway between the shores, toward fort Santa Cruz, a small island close to the main land. Bringing this fort to bear, per compass, S. W. quarter S., distant three and a half miles, and fort Ponte Groce, S. E., distant about two miles, we came to, and anchored in six and a half fathoms of water; the soundings, all along, having preserved the character of remarkable regularity. On the following morning we weighed, passed by fort Santa Cruz, came to and anchored in five and a half fathoms of water; when fort Santa Cruz bore, per compass, N. three quarters E., distant three quarters of a mile; fort Ponte Groce, E. N. E. half E., distant seven miles; fort Ratonía, S. by E. half E., distant four miles; and the highest point of Alvarado, N. E. quarter N., distant thirteen miles. The town of St. Miguel, on the main,

was in plain sight, bearing south-westward, and the town of St. Catharines, not in view, was said to be about fourteen miles to the south-eastward of our anchoring place. This proved to be an excellent situation for wooding and watering. The watering-place at which we got the greater part of our supply, was on the main land, bearing N. by W. from the ship, and at a very short and convenient distance.

The variation of the compass in this sound and at the N. E. point, St. Catharines,	6° 27' east.	} Determined by astronomical observations.
The ship at anchor, was situated in		
S. lat.	27° 26' 10" and W. long. 48° 02' 20"	
The fort at Ponte Groce, in		
S. latitude	27° 24' 46" ————— 47° 55' 30"	
N. E. point of St. Catharine—		
Ponte de botte,	27° 26' 49" ————— 47° 42' 48"	

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





*St. Jago bearing South Westward.*

*Island of San Nicolas W. by N.*

*N.E. Point of the Island of St. Jago bearing S.W. by S.*

*The Island of Mayo S.E. by E.*

*Island of Mayo E.N.E.*

**JOURNAL OF A CRUISE**  
MADE TO THE  
**PACIFIC OCEAN,**  
BY  
**CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,**  
IN THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE  
**ESSEX,**  
IN THE YEARS 1812, 1813, AND 1814.

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SECOND EDITION.

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TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,  
THE TRANSACTIONS AT VALPARAISO, FROM THE PERIOD OF THE AUTHOR'S  
ARRIVAL UNTIL THE CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX;  
THE FATE OF THE PARTY LEFT AT MADISON'S ISLAND, UNDER  
LIEUT. (NOW MAJOR) GAMBLE;  
AND AN INTRODUCTION, IN WHICH THE CHARGES CONTAINED IN THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW, OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS JOURNAL,  
ARE EXAMINED, AND THE IGNORANCE, PREJUDICE, AND  
MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE REVIEWER EXPOSED.

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EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

**VOL. II.**

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**WILEY & HALSTED, 3 WALL-STREET.**

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**1822,**

Southern District of New-York, ss.

**BE IT REMEMBERED**, That on the sixth day of July, in the forty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, Charles Wiley, of the said District, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"A Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate Essex, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. Second Edition. To which is now added, the Transactions at Valparaiso, from the period of the Author's arrival, until the Capture of the Essex; the Fate of the Party left at Madison's Island, under Lieut. (now Major) Gamble; and an Introduction, in which the Charges contained in the Quarterly Review, of the First Edition of this Journal, are examined, and the Ignorance, Prejudice, and Misrepresentations of the Reviewer exposed. Embellished with Engravings."

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**JAMES DILL,**

Clerk of the Southern District of New-York



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### CHAPTER XI.

#### PASSAGE TO WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

AFTER leaving the Gallapagoes, it was my intention to have run to the westward, keeping on or in the neighbourhood of the equator, to endeavour to fall in with a group of islands said to have been discovered by the Spaniards, and laid down in some charts. But, on reflection, I determined to make the best of my way for the Washington Islands, as this pursuit would have cost some expense of time, an expense I had no right to enter into, as the object of government in sending me to sea, was to annoy the enemy, and not to make discoveries; and should any accident happen to the ship in consequence of taking that route, I knew not how I should be able to justify my conduct in wandering from the direct course to the place of our destination. I had no doubt of the existence of the islands in question, having been informed by some of my prisoners that they had conversed with persons who had seen them; but their correct situation, or resources, were unknown to them. I determined, however, to keep well to the northward, before I fell in with the latitude of the Marquesas, with the hope of making some new discoveries, and therefore shaped my course on the most direct line for them. But finding the weather unpleasant, accompanied by a heavy and disagreeable cross sea, I in a few days kept more to the southward, until I reached the latitude of  $9^{\circ}$  south, then shaped my course due west, allowing for the variation of the compass.

On the 6th October, finding that some of my prizes occasioned considerable delay, I determined to despatch the *Essex Junior* for the Marquesas. My reasons for so doing



were founded on a firm belief that the *Mary-Ann*, the ship left by Mr. Downes at Valparaiso, would touch at those islands on her way to India. The cause of this belief was, that the captain of that ship had frequently declared, in the presence of Mr. Downes, his intention of going round Cape Horn, and the fact that she was short of fire-wood, an article that could not be procured at Valparaiso without paying very high for it, which was what the captain of that vessel did not seem disposed to do. Added to this, there was an American captain at Valparaiso of considerable intelligence, who had lately made a voyage to China from that port, had touched at the island of St. Christiana (one of the Marquesas) in his passage there, and had supplied himself abundantly with refreshments and wood, as he had also done in a former voyage. Between this gentleman and the English captain a considerable degree of intimacy subsisted, and I felt satisfied that his advice would be for him to take that route, and touch there. This advice I had no doubt of his following, for I could not persuade myself that any person would be so mad as to brave the tempestuous seas of Cape Horn to go to India, when it was in his power to proceed the whole way with fine winds and pleasant weather. I consequently believed, that the declarations made in the presence of lieutenant Downes were purposely to mislead that officer. Under the impression, therefore, that he would touch at St. Christiana, I directed lieutenant Downes to proceed there, and afterwards join me at Port Anna Maria, in the Island of Nooaheevah, one of the Washington Islands, which place I also appointed as a rendezvous for all the other vessels, in case of separation. Lieutenant Downes consequently made all sail, and at sunset was out of sight ahead.

From the time of the departure of lieutenant Downes until the 23d October, when we made the island of Teebooa, one of the group of the Marquesas, few circumstances of any moment took place. The weather throughout the passage was remarkably pleasant, gradually increasing in temperature as we increased our distance from the Gallapagos; but the heat was unaccompanied by squalls, thunder and lightning, or rain. Two of my prisoners, at the time of making land, were slightly affected with the scurvy; but (with the exception of these) we

had not a sick man on board. We frequently saw tropic birds, sea swallows, gulls, and other birds that indicate an approach to land, but in greater numbers between the longitude of  $100^{\circ}$  and  $105^{\circ}$  than in any other part, except in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, where we observed vast numbers the day before making land, at which time also we saw immense shoals of spermaceti whales, of all sizes, slowly directing their course to the northward. In this run we saw vast numbers of flying fish, and many of that kind which have red wings: they are much larger than the others, and are never seen in shoals. From the time of leaving the Gallapagos we experienced a constant westerly set of the current, which gradually decreased in velocity until we made the land, when we found its rate to be only twelve miles in twenty-four hours. At the time of our departure from the Gallapagos, we found ourselves set to the westward daily twenty-five miles, and this was ascertained by the difference between our dead reckoning and our lunar observations, assisted by our chronometer.

As we had little to employ our people about during our run, and as I believed that at this time, more than any other, I had much to apprehend from the scurvy getting among them, I considered it necessary to rouse them from that listlessness and apathy into which the human mind is apt to fall when destitute of employment. All were ignorant of the place of our destination or my intentions; I saw no prospect of evil resulting from making them known; and as I have ever considered that cheerfulness is a more powerful antiseptic than any other known, I determined to apply one of the doses which, I believe, had heretofore greatly contributed to preserve the health of my men. The following note was communicated to them; and those who know the disposition of sailors may readily conceive the effect it produced. For the remainder of our passage they could talk and think of nothing but the amusements and novelties that awaited them in this new world.

"We are bound to the Western islands, with two objects in view:

"First, that we may put the ship in a suitable condition to enable us to take advantage of the most favourable season for our return home:

"Secondly, I am desirous that you should have some relaxation and amusement after being so long at sea, as from your late good conduct you deserve it :

"We are going among a people much addicted to thieving, treacherous in their proceedings, whose conduct is governed only by fear, and regulated by views to their interest. We must put nothing in their power, be ever on our guard, and prevent, by every means that can be used, disputes and difficulties with them ; we must treat them with kindness, but never trust them, and be most vigilant where there is the greatest appearance of friendship. Let the fate of the many who have been cut off by the savages of the South Sea islands be a useful warning to us :

"It will require much discretion and good management to keep up a friendly intercourse with them ; and in the regulations that I shall lay down for this object, I shall expect the hearty concurrence of every person under my command :

"Disputes are most likely to arise from traffic with them. To prevent them, I shall appoint a vessel for the express purpose of trading, and shall select an officer and four men to conduct all exchanges. Every other person is positively forbid to traffic with the natives, except through the persons so selected to conduct the trade :

"No canoes or male natives will be permitted to come along side the *Essex*, or any other vessel, except the trading ship, on any account, unless it may be the chiefs whom I may designate. And if every person exerts himself to carry on the work of the ship, as well as to enforce the above regulations, and such others as I may from time to time adopt, I shall allow you time to amuse yourselves on shore. But this indulgence shall cease the moment I discover any relaxation in vigilance or industry.

Signed D. PORTER.

*U. S. Frigate Essex, October, 1813.*



## CHAPTER XII.

### WASHINGTON ISLANDS,—ROOAHOOGA.

ON the meridian of the 23d October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S.W. Our latitude at this time was  $9^{\circ} 6'$  south, and the longitude by chronometer  $138^{\circ} 27'$  west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by lord Hood, while a midshipman with captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. The Hood's Island, seen by us, is a barren lump of rock inaccessible on all its sides, destitute of verdure, and about three miles in circuit. After making this island, which is the most northerly of that group called the Marquesas de Mendania, first discovered by the Spaniards, I hove-to for my prizes to come up, which were a great distance astern, as they had been generally during our passage. On their joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a captain Marchand, in the French ship *Solide*, bound on a trading voyage to the N.W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the

British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and lieutenant Hergest, probably ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship *Dædalus*. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and, notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleuriën, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has

fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns ; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans ; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. These substitutions of names (as Fleurien justly remarks) cannot but create confusion in Geography, and, in the sequel, give birth to uncertainties and doubts respecting the periods of discoveries. Fleurien claims for the French priority of the British, in the discovery of this group, and in the discussion loses sight of any claim of ours. Perhaps he has not considered us as rivals worthy of either of the great nations, and has attached to us no more merit than he would have given to one of the natives for being born there. The whole merit of a navigator, he says, consists in finding what he seeks for, not in accidental discoveries : if so, where is the merit of captain Marchand's finding this group, if he was previously ignorant of their existence. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

After this digression, which I have been led into from a sense of justice to my countrymen, I shall proceed in my narrative.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile valleys, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of the natives on the hills inviting us to land, pro-



duced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S.E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S.E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture along side until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. Their bodies were entirely naked, and their chief ornament consisted in the dark and fanciful lines formed by tattooing, which covered them. I displayed to them some whales' teeth, an object to which I had understood that the natives of this group were greatly attached. They seemed to be greatly attracted by them, and promised to return to the shore, and bring us in exchange for them fruit and whatever else we desired. On their leaving us, I bore away for several other canoes which were launched from the different coves with which the coast was indented, but nothing could induce them to come near the ship. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so

little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. &c. Through the same medium I informed them that I should proceed to the shore, and there remain as a hostage for their safety. Some of them went off to the ship, but the greater number followed me to the shore, where they were collected in groups, armed with their spears and war-clubs, to receive me, and collecting in considerable numbers from every quarter. There were no women or children among them; and although both my boats were well armed I did not think it adviseable to put it in their power to make an attack on them, which would probably have terminated in the loss of several of their lives. I consequently directed lieutenant M'Knight, who was in the other boat, to keep out of the surf, which beat with considerable fury on the beach, while I went close in with my boat, where I made an exchange of pieces of iron hoops, and other articles, for their ornaments and fruit. Some of the former were handsome, and consisted of several pieces of wood neatly joined together in the form of a gorget, and covered with small red beans, neatly attached to it by means of a resinous substance. In a few minutes the spears and war-clubs were laid aside, and swarms of natives swam off to me loaded with the produce of the island. All seemed greatly to rejoice that we had so precious an article to offer them as pieces of old iron hoops, which were held in such high estimation that good sized pigs were purchased for a few inches. Some, to express their joy, were seen dancing on the beach with the most extravagant gestures, while others expressed the pleasure they felt by shouting and clapping their hands; and although I invariably paid them in advance for the articles received, I in no case, but one, met with an instance of dishonesty. Three men presented themselves to me, with each a bread-fruit. With a view of diverting myself with their embarrassment, I gave to them two fish-

hooks to be divided among them. They all agreed to the exchange, but on delivering the fish-hooks, one of them swam off with his bread-fruit, refused to deliver it up, and appeared much pleased with the trick he had played me, believing no doubt that it would be attended with less difficulty to divide the hooks between two than three. The other two seemed to affect anger with their companion, and made signs for me to pursue and beat him; but as one of them had a stick in his hand, I directed him to inflict punishment; this he pretended to do, but it was mere pretence. But notwithstanding this friendly intercourse, it was very evident that they had strong suspicions of us. They always approached the boat with the greatest awe and agitation, and in every instance, where articles were presented to them, they shrunk back with terror, and retreated to the shore with the utmost precipitation. This want of confidence in me, was greatly calculated to lessen my confidence in them, and even if the surf had admitted of my landing, I should not have considered it adviseable to venture ashore. One of them, however, ventured to raise himself by the side of the boat, and perceiving a pistol lying in the stern sheets, showed an evident desire to possess it. It was with some difficulty I could make him let go his hold of the boat; and to intimidate him I pointed the pistol at him; but it produced no other effect than joy, as he immediately held out both his hands to receive it, from which I concluded that they were unacquainted with the use of fire-arms.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their necks. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They were all highly tattooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to under-



stand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

After leaving these friendly people I proceeded for the frigate, where I found the traffic with the canoes that had gone off, had been conducted with much harmony. Some of them I passed very near on their return, and the natives on board them expressed their extreme satisfaction by expressions of the most extravagant joy. One of them in the fulness of heart, said he was so glad he longed to get on shore to dance. On rejoining the ship, I was informed by the officers that the natives who had been on board, expressed much surprise at the sight of the goats, sheep, dogs, and other animals, but what seemed most to astonish them, was one of the large Gallapagoes tortoises. It seemed as though they could not sufficiently feast their eyes on it; and to view it more at their ease they stretched themselves at full length on the deck around it. This appeared to be their general practice when they wished to view leisurely any object that excited their attention, a custom which seems to bespeak the natural indolence of this people: and yet some circumstances seem to be at variance with this opinion; for on occasions they appear capable of the greatest exertions of strength and activity, as when paddling their canoes, climbing the rocks, &c. The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a

copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. When the eye is once familiarized with men ornamented after this manner, we perceive a richness in the skin of an old man highly tattooed comparable to that observed in a highly wrought piece of old mahogany. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European. The neatness and beauty with which this species of ornament is finished, served greatly to surprise us. We could not help believing that they had among them tattooers by profession, some of them, no doubt, equal in celebrity to M'Alpin and other renowned tailors of America; for we afterwards discovered, that the wealthy and high classes were more fully and handsomely tattooed than those of an inferior station, which is a sufficient evidence that tattooing has its price.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were, as I before observed, handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable.

The canoes of these people are not so perfect in their construction as I had expected to find them. Yet they have much labour, and, no doubt, time, expended in their forma-

tion, considering the tools with which they were for the most part completed. Iron they know the use of; but from their desire to possess a few pieces of old iron hoop, its scarcity was evident. It is therefore highly probable, that they were formed with tools made of stones, or of such as could be made with the scraps of iron which it is possible they may have received from transient visiters. For, as it does not appear that they possess any articles of trade, it is not likely that tools of more value have been furnished them. These vessels are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity. At some of the coves I observed the frames of boats of a



different construction set up, shorter and wider than the canoes, and in shape somewhat similar to the common whale boat; but I saw no such vessel in use among those who visited the ship.

Toward sunset I passed the western part of the island, and had a view of a bay, which makes in, after rounding some islets, which appeared to afford good anchorage, secure against the prevailing winds, with a smooth landing. The valley which extended from the head of it, had the appearance of great fertility, and several houses were interspersed among the clusters of trees. The whole had a very agreeable and inviting appearance, but no natives or canoes were observable. It is probable that, intimidated by the number of vessels in sight, they had all left their residence, and retired to the other side of the island.





Drawn by Capt. Prior.

Engraved by W. Stoddard.

C. Madisonville in. Massachusetts Bay - Capt. & his Wife.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## MADISON'S ISLAND.—HAPPAH WAR.

AFTER passing the island I hove to for the night, and directed my prizes, as they came up, to do the same. We had here very heavy squalls, and some showers of rain; and at daylight next morning I bore up for the island of Nooaheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W. not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the E. side of the weather bay, called by lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay. This point is steep, and the coast from thence to the N. appears iron bound and inaccessible. The whole island seems to have suffered much during former periods, from the ravages of volcanoes. On standing in for Comptroller's Bay, I perceived a rock above water at the distance of one mile and a half or two miles from the point. This I left on the starboard hand, and stretched into the bay, which was deep, spacious, and appeared very safe and commodious. It contains several interior bays, which seemed to afford good landing; several pleasant villages were situated near the beaches, and the houses were interspersed among the trees of the valleys, which appeared highly cultivated and thickly inhabited. Several canoes came off the point, but none seeming disposed to visit us, I bore up for a small but high island, about two leagues to leeward, which I supposed formed one side of the entrance of the harbour, where I intended anchoring. It is called by lieutenant Hergest Port Anna Maria. In about an hour we opened the bay, which appeared to offer us every advantage we could possibly desire. It may be known by the small, but high and rocky island before-mentioned, which forms the E. side, and a similar one, but more in the figure of a sugar loaf, which forms the W. side of the entrance. About half way between the entrance and Comptroller's Bay, is a red cliff of rocks, the only one to be seen. The point

forming with the Rocky Island, the E. side of the entrance of the bay, is marked from its summit to the water's edge, by a remarkable white streak, which, at a distance, bears the appearance of a sheet of water, tumbling from the rocks. This mark can be seen from a great distance; and is a never-failing guide to the harbour's mouth. Between each of the aforesaid small islands, and the main island, are passages only for small boats; and as they seemed placed by nature, for the protection of the port, when considered either as affording shelter from the winds and sea, or as suitable situations for batteries, I shall hereafter call them the Sentinels.

On entering the bay I rounded the E. Sentinel, within one and a half ship's length of the shore, and obtained sounding in thirty-five fathoms water, sandy bottom. The water was perfectly clear; no danger was to be seen; the wind was blowing out of the harbour; and I believed it to be of sufficient width, to enable us to work up to the bottom of the bay, which appeared to be about four miles deep. I was soon, however, convinced that I was deceived in my calculations; for although there was sufficient room, had the breeze been steady to have worked up, yet it was impracticable to do so, from the flaws so frequently changing their direction; and at one moment blowing fresh, while the next would prove a dead calm, and thus render a ship perfectly unmanageable with her sails. I therefore let go the anchor at the mouth, in thirty fathoms water, to wait for a more favourable time for running in, and directed my prizes to lay off and on the port until we could get the frigate secured. Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from the shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment

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of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out toward us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach, considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. As I was desirous of establishing, with the natives, the most friendly intercourse, I was fearful my intentions might be frustrated by their representations, and the unfavourable impressions they might be enabled to make on their minds. To correct my error as soon as possible, if I had committed any, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. To this I consented, provided lieutenant Lewis should not return before my departure. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and



whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men. I directed them to be put through their exercise; and the firing of the muskets occasioned but little terror, except among the women, who generally turned away their faces and covered their ears with their hands. The men and boys were all attention to the skipping of the balls in the water; but at every fire all habitually inclined their bodies, as if to avoid the shot, although behind the men who were firing. After remaining a short time with them, I distributed among them some knives, fish-hooks, &c. &c. which they received with much apparent pleasure; but no one offered, like the natives of the other island, any thing in return.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war

with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I inquired if it were possible to get a message to them; and was informed that, notwithstanding they were at war, and showed no quarter to each other, there were certain persons of both tribes, who were permitted to pass and repass freely and uninterruptedly from one tribe to another: such, for example, as a man belonging to one tribe who had married a woman belonging to the other. I inquired if any such were present; and one being pointed out to me, I directed him to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force sufficiently strong to drive them from the island: and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. To the natives of the valley (who listened attentively, and with apparent pleasure, to the message sent to the Happahs) I then addressed myself, and assured them that I had come with the most friendly disposition; that I wanted nothing from them but what I paid for: that they must look on us as brethren: and that I should protect them against the Happahs, should they again venture to descend from the mountains. I directed them to leave at home their spears, slings, and clubs, (their only weapons of war) in order that we might know them from the Happahs. I also told them that I should consider all as my enemies who should appear armed in my presence: assuring them at the same time, that there would be no necessity for their using those weapons, as I had not only the will and power to give them the most ample protection, but to chastise severely their enemies, unless they were governed by the advice I had given them. All listened with much attention: their spears and clubs were thrown on one side. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men,

who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a granddaughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enlivened the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in great estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives,



to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution; the other is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore despatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ship to be got into port and secured. Probably they had heard from those who had been on shore, of the friendly reception they had met with; and while I had some thoughts of putting to sea, to wait a favourable opportunity to run in, application was made to warp the ship up, and in a few hours we had her secured in the bottom of the bay, on the starboard side, near a white sandy beach, within half a mile of the shore. The Essex Junior had hove in sight about the time we commenced warping. But lieutenant Downes did not get his ship secured until late in the evening, when he came on board, and informed me he had obtained no intelligence of the vessel I had sent him in pursuit of. The prizes did not get in and secured until next day.

When the ship was moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing, they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

The object of the greatest value at this as well as all the other islands of this group, is whales' teeth. This I had understood while I was on shore, and knowing that there

were several of them on board the frigate, I determined, if possible, to secure the whole of them at any price, as I had been informed that hogs, the only animal food on the island, could be purchased for no other article. I succeeded in procuring nearly all on board, by paying for them at the rate of one dollar each ; but few of them were of a sufficient size to make them of much value. I shall in all probability have occasion to speak of the strange infatuation of this people for this strange ornament, which is worn suspended to the neck, and sometimes is cut to form ornaments to the ears. No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth is worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese ; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

The warlike attitude of the Happahs, who still kept their station on the mountains, made me determine to wait a day or two before I commenced my repairs on the ship. I had understood, that there was a bay to leeward, which might suit our purpose, where the natives who inhabited its valleys were at peace. But it was not represented to me as being so commodious as the one we now occupied, nor so easy of access and egress. I had not yet determined at what place to form our encampment, land our water-casks, and

pitch tents for our coopers, sailmakers, carpenters, and other workmen, all of which would be necessary in order to make the extensive repairs of which the ship stood much in want. I was apprehensive of engaging too precipitately in the undertaking, lest the unforeseen difficulties I might encounter, should give me cause to regret my haste.

The spot which appeared most suitable for our purpose, was a plain, at the back of the sandy beach, near where we lay. This plain was well shaded by bread-fruit and other trees, was destitute of inhabitants, and separated from the inhabited part of the valley by a hill, well suited for erecting a fort, as it completely commanded the whole bay, as well as every part of the valley. The place of which I now speak, as suited for our encampment, was situated between the two hostile tribes; and I was informed, that from some motives of religion, neither party had visited it since the war had commenced. With the hope that they would continue to keep aloof from it, I determined within myself to fix on this spot, should I commence my repairs here. While I was deliberating on the subject, I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine large English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him, (excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal.

Soon after I had sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied around their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whale's tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the



end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. This is a faithful picture of a warrior, and of the chief of such warriors I had formed an exalted opinion. But what was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head: a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. After he had been a short time on deck, I endeavoured to impress him with a high opinion of our force; and for this purpose assembled all my crew: it scarcely seemed to excite his attention. I then caused a gun to be fired, which seemed to produce no other effect on him, than that of pain; he complained that it hurt his ears. I then invited him below, where nothing whatever excited his attention, until I showed him some whales' teeth. This roused the old man from his lethargy, and he would not be satisfied, until I had permitted him to handle, to measure, and count them over and over, which seemed to afford him infinite pleasure. After he had done this repeatedly, I put them away; and shortly afterwards asked him if he had seen any thing in the ship that pleased him; if he did to name it, and it should be his. He told me he had seen nothing which had pleased him so much as one of the small whales' teeth; which, on his describing, I took out and gave to him. This he carefully wrapped up in one of the turns of his clout; begging me not to inform any person that he had about him an article of so much value. I assured him I should not; and the old man threw himself on the settee and went to sleep. In a few minutes he awoke, somewhat recovered from his

stupidity, and requested to be put on shore. He, however, previous to his departure, wished me to exchange names with him, and requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. To the first I immediately consented, but told him I had come to be at peace with all on the island; that I wished to see him at peace with the Happahs; and that I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people. He told me they had cursed the bones of his mother, who had died but a short time since; that as we had exchanged names, she was now my mother, and I was bound to espouse her cause. I told him I would reflect on the subject, and did not think it necessary to make any farther reply to the old man's sophistry.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa-nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels.

I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Those who were on shore, had returned on board; and as the Happahs had descended to within half a mile of our camp, and had succeeded in destroying two hundred bread-fruit trees, it became necessary to be more on our guard against their enterprise. My messenger shortly afterwards returned from among them, to say, that notwithstanding my injunctions, they had come into the valley and destroyed the bread-fruit trees, and we had not opposed them: that

they believed we were cowards ; and they should soon visit our camp, and carry off our sails. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

I had caused a tent to be erected on shore for myself, as believing my presence necessary there to preserve order, and that my health required that I should remain some time on shore, after being so long confined to the ship.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people, would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to him, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on. I supposed, however, that it would terrify the Happahs ; and if it was attended with no other advantage, it would occupy the natives for a week or fortnight, and keep them from our camp, as the numbers who resorted there had already given us some embarrassment, and I apprehended would cause us more.

On the gun being landed, I ordered a few shot to be fired, to convince them of the distance the shot would have effect. First, a shot was fired with the gun, considerably elevated ; they seemed much surprised at the length of time the shot remained in the air, and many had given up all expectations of seeing it descend, and a general shout of admiration marked the time of its fall in the water. I then directed the gun to be fired, that the ball might skip along the surface of the water. At every bound



of the shot, they gave a general shout of applause, as if all were operated on by the same impulse : last of all, I directed her to be fired with grape-shot, which seemed to afford them more pleasure than all the rest ; they hugged, and kissed the gun, lay down beside it, fondled it with the utmost delight, and at length, slung it to two long poles, and carried it toward the mountain. On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them ; they declared that it stuck to the ground ; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

While the natives were employed with their darling gun, I occupied myself in forwarding as much as possible the ship's duty ; and as an additional security to our camp, landed another six pounder, and mounted also a long wall piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging ; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers, in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon ; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement. One-fourth of the crew being allowed after that hour to go on shore, there to remain until daylight next morning. An oven was also built on shore, with bricks found on board the prizes ; and so long as we remained here, fresh bread of an excellent quality was issued every day, to every person under my command. This was not only adding greatly to their comfort, and probably contributing to preserve their health, but was the cause of great saving of our hard bread, which it was necessary to reserve as a sea stock. Everything went on as well as I could have wished, and much better than I could possibly have expected. It only now was necessary, that we should fall on some substitute for salt provisions, as we had not yet been enabled to procure hogs in sufficient quantities, to issue to the ships' companies, nor to catch fish with our seine, although we had made repeated trials. The natives did not appear willing to traffic for fruit or hogs ; and from the best information I could obtain, I was

induced to believe, there was a considerable scarcity of both in the valley. A few had been furnished as presents, but no persuasions would induce them to sell any to us, even for articles which were held in the highest estimation by them. They could not supply them in sufficient quantities to exchange for whales' teeth, nor could they be persuaded to part with them for harpoons, of which we had a large stock on hand.

The day after the gun was moved for the mountains, the chief warrior, named Mouina, was introduced to me. He was a tall, well-shaped man, of about thirty-five years of age, remarkably active, of an intelligent and open countenance, and his whole appearance highly prepossessing. He had just left the other warriors in the fortified village, and had come down to request me to cause a musket to be fired (which he called a *bouhi*) that he might witness its effects. Several individuals of the tribe of the Happahs were at that moment about the camp, and I was pleased at the opportunity which was afforded me, to convince them of the folly of resisting our firearms with slings and spears. I fired several times myself at a mark, to show them that I never failed of hitting an object the size of a man. I then directed the marines to fire by volleys at a cask, which was soon like a riddle. I directed them to tell their countrymen that it would only be making a useless sacrifice of their lives; that I had no wish to destroy them, but that my own safety, and the security of the friendly tribes, whom I had promised to protect, required that they should be driven from the mountains overhanging the valley, where they had constantly kept their position, daily waving their cloaks to us to come up, and threatening us with their spears and clubs. Indeed, considerable numbers of them had been seen in the grass, on the hills at the back of our encampment, and I had much reason to apprehend an attack from them soon, if means were not taken to dislodge them.

Mouina appeared much pleased with the effect of our musketry; and frequently exclaimed, *mattee, mattee!* killed, killed! The Happahs, however, replied, that nothing could persuade their tribe, that *bouhies* could do them the injury that we pretended: that they were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten,

that they would be willing to make peace ; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present ; and that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them ; and I believed it likely, that, by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something ; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing ; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

But before I proceed farther in my narrative, it may be best, for a proper understanding of the subject, to give a statement of the names of the different tribes of the island, with the names of the chiefs of each tribe, as far as I have been able to obtain a knowledge of them.

The tribes residing in the valley of *Tieuhoy* are in number six, and are called collectively *Taeahs*, which signifies friends. *Gattanewa* is the acknowledged chief of four tribes, to wit, the *Pakeuhs*, *Maovhs*, *Howneeahs*, and *Hekuahs*. He has, however, much influence with the other two, called *Hoattas*, of which *Kecoponea* is chief ; and *Havouhs*, which is a perfect democracy without a chief. The priest, however, whose name is *Tawattaa*, has great influence with the people, and decides in all cases of controversy, and names the time of going to war. It seems that a few years since they expelled their chief, who was a relation of *Gattanewa*, and a notorious glutton.



His offence, it appears, was the frequently waylaying the children of the poorer class, on their return from fishing, and taking from them their fish : they therefore rose in a body, and drove him from the valley. He took refuge with Gattanewa, where he now lives. He is the largest man on the island, and his enormous size and unwieldy appearance soon gained him among us the name of *Elephant*.

The fact is, that these people cannot be said to live under any form of government, except a patriarchal one. The oldest man of the tribe, if he possess the most land, and is the owner of the most bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, is the most influential character among them. Wealth, with them, as in all other countries, attaches respect and gives power ; they have such thing as rank among them ; a rank which is hereditary ; and they take much pride in tracing their ancestry. Gattanewa traces his for eighty-eight generations back, (about fourteen hundred years) which reaches to the period when the island was first peopled. According to tradition, Oataia, or day-light, and Ananoona his wife, came from Vavao, an island underneath Nooaheevah, and brought with them bread-fruit and sugar-cane, and a great variety of other plants. They had forty children, who were all named after the plants they brought with them, with the exception of the first son, who was called Po or night. They settled in the valley of Tieuhoy ; but soon becoming very populous, they went off to other parts of the island, taking with them plants of different kinds, and inhabited the valleys. Be this tradition true or fabulous, it is certain that Gattanewa draws his greatest consideration from inheriting the honours of the great Oataia, and an alliance with him is sought by every family of any considerable rank in the island.

The chiefs, and the sons and grandsons of every chief in the island, are married to his sisters, his daughters, or his granddaughters. Many of the latter were now unmarried, and their youth and beauty soon drew the attention of our officers ; and as they did not suffer them to despond, many of them soon had the honour of boasting a relationship with the great chieftain.

The people called collectively Happahs, reside in a valley which makes up from the N.W. part of Comptroller's Bay. They consist of six tribes; namely, Nicekees, Tattievows, Pachas, Kickahs, Tekaahs, and Muttaaohas; the names of the chiefs of which are, Mowattaeh, Peio-who, Tekawanuohe, Kawatuah, and Toneotufah. This is the people which now daily dared us to battle.

In a bay to leeward, called Huchaheucha, there are three tribes, called Maamatuahs, Tiohahs, and Cahhaahe; their chiefs are named Potunah and Mahitatahee. These are the allies of the Taeahs, and join them in all wars with the tribes residing on the east of the valley of Tieuhoy, although they are sometimes engaged in war among themselves.

On the north part of Comptroller's bay, an extensive and beautiful valley runs deep into the island, and is thickly inhabited by a warlike race of people, called collectively Typees. This valley, which is more highly cultivated than any other in the island, and interspersed with beautiful villages, contains three tribes, called Poheguha, Nae-guha, and Attaiyas. Of the first and second Tohenueh and Poheguah are the chiefs: the latter is a democracy without a chief.

The valley of Shoeume contains three tribes, namely Cahhunaka, Tomahvaheena, and Tickeymahu: the principal chief is Temaa Tipee. These are the allies of the Typees, and generally join in peace or war with them. This valley also runs up from Comptroller's Bay.

The valley of Hannahow, which lies on the east side of the island, is inhabited by two great tribes of people, the first called Hatecaah, the principal chief of which is Tahehow. They consist of three tribes, and are called Mooaekah, Attishou, and Attestapwiheenah. Secondly, the people called Woheaho, consisting of three tribes; namely, Attehacoes, Attetomcohay, and Attekakahaneuah.

There is also, in a valley called Tahtuahtuah, a small tribe called Tiakahs.

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taeahs	-	-	-	-	2500
Happahs	-	-	-	-	3000

Maamatuhahs	- - -	2000
Typees	- - -	3500
Showneus	- - -	3000
Hatticahs	- - -	2500
Wooheahos	- - -	2500
Tatuahs	- - -	200

Making in all - - - - - 19200 men, and in a climate like this, and living as the natives of this island do, this number should not excite any astonishment, for all are in health and vigour: old and young are active and strong, and all are capable of managing a spear, club, or sling. Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c. advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly despatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and are never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are all highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them



*War Club*

*Ear Ornament*



*War Conch*



*Sling*



*Gorget*



*Hair Ornament*



*Whales Tooth*





almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding those missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity. Yet the wounds were perfectly healed, and appeared to give no pain. I shall probably have occasion to speak hereafter of their art in healing wounds; but I must now, while on the subject of fractured skulls, mention a practice which is pursued by them, and may be common elsewhere, although I never heard of it. Whenever the skull is cracked, the bone is laid bare, and the fracture traced to its end, where a small hole is drilled through the skull to prevent the crack from going any farther. This practice is pursued wherever the fracture branches off in rays. If there are any loose pieces of bones, they are carefully laid in their places, the wound is bound up with certain herbs, the virtue of which is known to them, and nature, a temperate mode of living, and a good constitution, do the rest. They have their professed surgeons and physicians among them; but they have much more confidence in our skill than in their own.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at daylight, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition.



for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to lieutenant Downes. I was this afternoon visited by Taiheataioa, the wife of Gattanewa, accompanied by several of her daughters and granddaughters. Every object about the camp seemed to excite in them the most lively attentions, but none more so, than the sheep and goats, which they call *boarka*, which is the name for a hog. The Gallapagoes tortoises they called *manu*, which is the name of a sea-tortoise. The different occupations in which our people were employed, seemed greatly to excite their astonishment. They went from place to place examining, with great curiosity, the operations within the camp. As all they saw was entirely new to them, they appeared struck with admiration; and though they could not understand the object of our labours, they made no inquiries, but silently turned their attention to the next object which attracted them. In this manner they wandered from my tent to the sail-makers, the coopers, carpenters, armourers and bakers, and even the turning of the grindstone occasioned no less wonder than the rest. They were like children pleased with novelties, which they could not comprehend. Taiheataioa appeared to be an intelligent, and had no doubt been a handsome woman; she bore the traces of beauty in her features, and the beauty of her children and grandchildren, whose features strongly resembled hers, left no doubt in my mind as to what she had been. Her manner was dignified, and her gestures graceful. I found she possessed that vanity which is so much attributed to her sex, and that she evinced no little pleasure at being complimented on the strong resemblance of her granddaughters to herself. I made them presents of several small articles, which gave them much pleasure, and the old woman frequently reminded me that, as I had exchanged names with Gattanewa, I was now her husband, and (pointing to the others) that those were my children and grandchildren, who looked up to me for protection.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the Essex Junior and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provi-

sions and other articles, I gave the order to march. Gattanewa arrived at the moment of my giving the order ; and informed me that his daughter, who was married to a chief of the Happahs, had just descended the mountains, and had come as an envoy to beg that I would grant them peace—the detachment had marched, every arrangement had been made : I apprehended that the Happahs only wanted to gain time : I had met with considerable provocation from them, and they still kept their hostile position on the mountains. From the old man's solicitude for peace, when contrasted with his former desire for war, I for a moment believed some treachery on foot ; I had sent but a handful of men, and their arms, their ammunition, their provisions, and even their lives, were in the hands of the Indians. Gattanewa was in my power, and I determined to secure him as a hostage until their return. I directed him to send for his daughter, for the same purpose ; but he informed me she was far advanced in pregnancy, and unable to come to the camp. I told him that no harm was intended him, but that he must not leave the enclosure until the return of the party : that the Indians of his tribes, were in possession of many articles of value to us, and that when every thing was returned to us, he should be at liberty to proceed to his family. I told him that peace could not now take place, until after a battle, when I should feel disposed to come to terms with the Happahs, and would respect a messenger, sent from them with a white flag. The old man appeared very uneasy at his detention, and repeatedly asked me if I would not kill him, should any of our people be injured by the Happahs, and my assurances to the contrary, did not relieve his anxiety, and fears for his safety. The party on shore at the camp, now consisted only of about ten or twelve working men, and one sentinel : they were all engaged in their usual occupations, when an Indian girl, who had been wandering in the bushes came running toward us, the picture of fear, and with terror strongly marked in every feature, exclaimed, that the Happahs were but a short distance from the camp. I directed the alarm gun to be fired ; every person was immediately armed with such weapons as presented themselves, and we waited the expected attack behind our barrier, the water casks : but hearing no noise, we sallied

out to examine the bushes, and supposed it a false alarm : but on returning to the camp, casting our eyes up the hills, we perceived a party skulking among the reeds and grass : we got the six pounder to bear on them, soon dislodged them, and had no other interruption or alarm during the day.

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears ; that he had driven them from place to place until they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill ; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place : but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly na-



tives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended : it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not until our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead ; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove ; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot ; they rushed on them with their war clubs, and soon despatched them : then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

As soon as the party returned, I gave orders for the liberation of Gattanewa, who hastened with speedy steps to escape from the hill which separated us from the settlement. His alarm had been great, and terror had taken such fast hold on his mind, that he dared not look behind, lest he should perceive some danger in pursuit of him. He had heard from the natives of our having taken the fort ; and as this was, in his estimation, a place of incomparable strength, he believed that nothing could resist our progress. He supposed us stronger than we really were, and dreaded an ally so powerful. I informed him, previous to his departure, that I was now ready to listen to a messenger from the Hapahs ; but the poor old man's fright.

would allow him to attend to nothing but his own safety. We had gained a victory, which, to him, seemed incredible ; and the number of dead which they had borne off as trophies, had far exceeded that of any former battle within his recollection ; as they fight for weeks, nay, for months sometimes, without killing any on either side, though many are, in all their engagements, severely wounded. The Tayees had, however, a short time before our arrival, lost one of their priests, of the greatest note, who had been killed by an ambuscade of the Happahs ; and this circumstance had occasioned a taboo of the strictest nature to be established, which was now in full force, and continued as long as we remained on the island.

I am not acquainted with the ceremony of laying on these tabbooes, which are so much respected by the natives. They are, however, laid by the priests, from some religious motive. Sometimes they are general, and affect a whole valley, as the present ; sometimes they are confined to a single tribe ; at others to a family, and frequently to a single person. The word taboo, signifies an interdiction, an embargo, or restraint ; and the restrictions during the period of their existence, may be compared to the lent of the catholics. They suffer, during this period, many privations ; they are not allowed to use paint, of which they are very fond, to ornament their bodies ; they are neither allowed to dance nor sing ; the chiefs are bound to abstain from women ; nor are they, in many instances, allowed to enter the houses frequented by them. They have tabooed places, where they feast, and drink kava—tabbooeed houses where dead bodies are deposited, and many of their trees, and even some of their walks are tabooed. The women are, on no occasion whatever, allowed to enter their places of feasting, which are houses raised, to the height of six or eight feet on a platform of large stones, neatly hewn and fitted together, with as much skill and exactness, as could be done by our most expert masons ; and some of them are one hundred yards in length, and forty yards in width, surrounded by a square of buildings executed in a style of elegance, which is calculated to inspire us with the most exalted opinion of the ingenuity, taste, and perseverance of a people, who have hitherto remained unnoticed, and unknown to the rest of mankind. When

we consider the vast labour requisite, to bring from a distance the enormous rocks, which form the foundation of these structures (for they are all brought from the sea side, and many of them are eight feet long, and four feet thick and wide) and reflect on the means used in hewing them into such perfect forms, with tools perhaps little harder, than the materials worked on, for the appearance of many of these places strongly mark their antiquity, and their origin can, no doubt, be traced to a period antecedent to their knowledge of iron; and when we count the immense numbers of such places, which are every where to be met with, our astonishment is raised to the highest, that a people in a state of nature, unassisted by any of those artificial means, which so much assist and facilitate the labour of the civilized man, could have conceived, and executed a work, which, to every beholder, must appear stupendous. These piles are raised with views to magnificence alone; there does not appear to be the slightest utility attending them: the houses situated on them are unoccupied, except during the period of feasting, and they appear to belong to a public, without the whole efforts of which, they could not have been raised, and with every exertion that could possibly have been made, years must have been requisite for the completion of them.

These public houses differ not much from the houses belonging to individuals, except in the degree of elegance with which they are finished. Those which I have now in view to describe, are situated round a public square, high up the valley of the Havvouhs, and are sixteen in number. Four large pillars, neatly formed of the bread-fruit tree, are planted in the ground, extending to the height of twenty feet above the surface; in the upper end is a crutch for the reception of a long and slender cocoa-nut tree, which is neatly polished: this forms the ridge-pole of the houses, and is the chief support of the structure. From this ridge-pole, with the lower ends inclining out about five feet, are placed bamboos, of equal sizes, at the distance of two or three inches asunder, with the lower ends planted in the ground; and to give them additional stability, they are neatly and firmly secured by turns of different coloured sinnet to the well-polished trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: across this row of bamboos is lashed,



with the utmost neatness and strength, rows of smaller bamboos, placed in a horizontal position, and this forms a frame work for the back part of the house, which also answers for one side of the roof. At the distance of five feet in advance of the aforesaid long pillars, are fixed in the ground four uprights, extending eight feet above the surface, having also a crutch for the reception of a cocoa-nut tree, or sometimes a piece of hewn timber neatly fashioned for the purpose. This also extends the whole length of the house, and serves to support the front part of the roof, which is formed of the same materials, and is secured in the same manner as the back part of the building. The ends are, in like manner, closed in, as sometimes are the sides, for the distance of twelve feet, forming at each end of the house a small room. The frame work being completed, they proceed to cover it, first with the leaves of the palm tree, and next with those of the bread-fruit tree, which are laid on with surprising neatness and regularity, and give it an appearance of beauty, security, and durability not to be equalled by our best mode of shingling. The building is then divided longitudinally into two equal parts, by placing from one end to the other, in the middle, the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree: the part toward the front is then neatly paved with smooth stones: the back part is covered with the finest mats, and is occupied as a sleeping place for the whole family: the middle tree serving for them to place their feet against, and a similar one placed against the back of the building serves them as a pillow. The external and more useful parts of the house being finished, they proceed to ornament it by covering the bamboos, which form the frame work, with different coloured cocoa-nut sinnet, put on in the most fanciful manner, while the upright columns are covered first by layers of their finest and whitest cloth, which is firmly secured by the sinnet aforesaid, in such a manner, as to give them, at a short distance, the appearance of being handsomely and fancifully painted. Sometimes, indeed, the columns are richly carved in the form of gods, and give to the whole an air of grandeur and elegance, which, although in a style differing from that of every other people in the world, does not the less astonish.

But, to proceed in my narrative: the Tayees had brought

in the bodies of the five men killed in storming the fort. We met with no loss on our side or on that of our allies. We had two wounded, and one of the Indians had his jaw broke with a stone. I saw him the day afterwards ; it was neatly and securely bound up with the leaves of the palm-tree, and he appeared to suffer but little from the pain. One of the dead, it appeared, was a native of our valley, who had married among the Happahs. His relations had taken charge of his body, which, on being found, had been carefully wrapped up in matts. The rest I was informed were lying in the public square, where the natives were rejoicing over them. I had been informed by the whites, on my arrival, and even by Wilson, that the natives of this island were cannibals : but, on the strictest inquiry, I could not learn that either of them had seen them in the act of eating human flesh. I was desirous of having this point put beyond a doubt, though the assurances they had given me, that they really were cannibals, had strongly inclined me to believe that it was the case. Indeed, in conversing with Gattanewa on the subject, he did not hesitate to acknowledge that it was sometimes practised by certain characters ; but with much pride and exultation he added, that none of his family, to the earliest period of their existence, were known to have eaten human flesh, or to have tasted a hog, which had died or been stolen. He said they sometimes eat their enemies. Yet, in all their wars, which had been carried on since Wilson and the others had been among them, it does not appear that any had been eaten, according to our acceptation of the word. Several of the dead bodies of their enemies had fallen into their hands, and had been seen by the whites in an un mutilated state for several days after their death, until indeed they had become too offensive for the natives to bear ; and certainly it cannot be supposed that they would prefer eating them in that putrid state, although Wilson declared that that was the time they feasted on them. Desirous of clearing up in my own mind a fact which so nearly concerned the character of a whole people, who otherwise deserved to rank above the mere savage, I proceeded, the day after the battle, with Wilson, and accompanied by a marine (my usual practice when I went among them) to the house of Gattanewa, with a view of claiming the dead bodies, in

order that they might be buried; and, at the same time, to endeavour to find out whether they were really addicted to a practice so unnatural. The acknowledgments of Gattanewa left but little doubt on my mind, and yet I found it difficult to reconcile this practice with the generosity and benevolence which were leading traits in their character. They are cleanly in their persons, washing three or four times a day. They are cleanly in their mode of cooking and manner of eating; and it was remarked, that no islander was known to taste of any thing whatever, until he had first applied it to his nose, and if it was in the slightest degree tainted or offensive to the smell, it was always rejected. How then can it be possible that a people so delicate, living in a country abounding with hogs, fruit, and a considerable variety of vegetables, should prefer a loathsome putrid human carcass, to the numerous delicacies their valleys afford? It cannot be: there must have been some misconception. I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had pre-

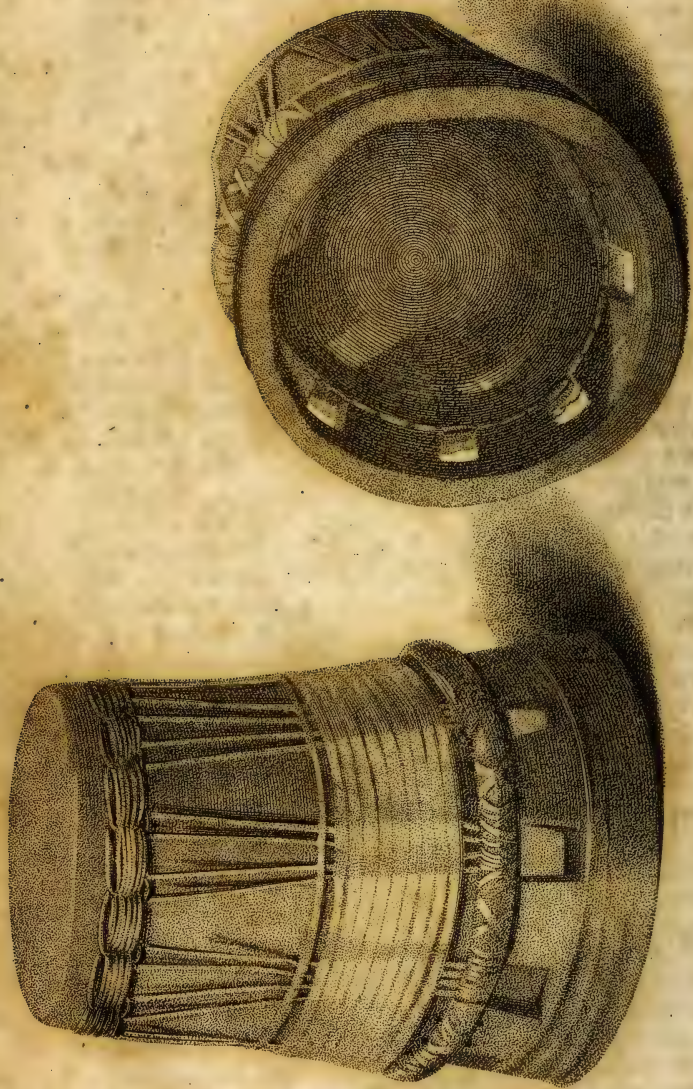


ferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased. Addressing myself to her daughter, an interesting woman of about twenty-three years of age, who had come to solicit peace, I told her I should respect any messenger sent from her tribe bearing a white flag; that her husband might come in safety, and that I should be as ready to make peace, as I had been to punish their insolence. I then exhorted the wife of Gattanewa to endeavour to impress on the minds of every person the necessity of living on friendly terms with us; that we were disposed to consider them as brothers; that we had come with no hostile intentions toward them, and so long as they treated us as friends, we would protect them against all their enemies; that they and their property should be secure, and that I should inflict the most exemplary punishment on such of my people as should be known to impose on a friendly native; but that should a stone be thrown; or an article stolen from me or my people, and the offender not be given up to me, I should make the valley a scene of desolation. The old woman was all attention to this discourse as delivered through Wilson the interpreter; and I was about proceeding when she requested me to stop. She now rose and commanded silence among the multitude, which had considerably augmented since my arrival, and addressed them with much grace and energy in a speech of about half an hour; exhorting them, as I understood, to conduct themselves with propriety, and explaining to them the advantages likely to result from a good understanding with us. After she had finished, she took me affectionately by the hand, and reminded me that I was her husband. All alarms now were subsided. I inquired for Gattanewa, and was informed that he was at the public square rejoicing over the bodies of the slain, but had been sent for. I proceeded for the place, and met the old man hastening home. He had been out from the earliest dawn, and had not broken his fast. He held in one hand a cocoa-nut shell, containing a quantity of sour preparation of the bread-fruit, which is highly esteemed by the natives, and in the other a raw fish, which he occasionally dipped into it as he ate it. As soon, however, as Wilson gave him to understand that the practice of eating

raw fish was disagreeable to me, he wrapped the remainder in a palm leaf, and handed it to a youth to keep for him until a more convenient opportunity offered for indulging himself. On my way to the square, I observed several young warriors hastening along towards the place, armed with their spears, at the ends of which were hung plantains, bread-fruit, or cocoa-nuts, intended as offerings to their gods ; and on my approach to the square, I could hear them beating their drums and chanting their war-songs. I soon discovered five or six hundred of them assembled about the dead bodies, which were lying on the ground, still attached to the poles with which they had been brought from the scene of action. The warriors were all armed with their spears, and several large drums, highly ornamented with cloth, tastefully secured on with sinnet, were placed near the slain, on which some were employed beating, while Tawattaa and another priest, elevated above the rest, appeared to preside over the ceremonies. Ah! said Wilson, they are now making their infernal feast on the bodies of the dead. At this moment my approach was discovered. They were all thrown into the utmost confusion ; the dead bodies were in an instant snatched from the place where they lay, and hurried to a distance among the bushes, and shouting and hallooing evinced the utmost consternation. I now believed the truth of Wilson's declaration, and my blood recoiled with horror at the spectacle I was on the point of witnessing. I directed them in an authoritative manner to return the bodies to the place whence they had taken them, and refused to advance a step farther until they had done so. With much reluctance they brought them back ; two of them carefully covered with branches of the cocoa-tree, the others were entirely uncovered. I immediately caused them all to be exposed to my view, and to my great surprise found them unmutilated, except by the clubs with which they had been despatched. I inquired immediately into the cause of their carrying them off in such haste, and was informed that they supposed the sight of dead bodies would have proved disagreeable to me. I told them I had come to claim them, in order that they might be buried, and desired that they might be carried to the camp, where a grave was already dug for their interment. I told them that I was apprehensive that they







*Drum of the Islanders*

intended to eat them, and expressed, with the strongest marks of horror, my detestation of the practice. They all assured me that they had no intention of eating them, and promised a compliance with my wishes should I exact it : but entreated I would indulge them with the bodies a day or two longer to sing over and perform their ceremonies, and that I would grant them two to offer as a sacrifice to the manes of their priests, who had been slain ; requesting, at the same time, that I would send a person to attend the ceremony and witness their burial ; assuring me that they would bury them any depth I should wish. Gattanewa, Tawattaa, and the other priest, then joined their earnest entreaties to the rest, and informed me that it would be the cause of great triumph to their enemies should I deprive them of all the dead bodies, and would attribute to them none of the honours of the victory obtained over them. Overcome by their solicitude, I consented to their request, and being in some measure satisfied that these people were not cannibals, I consented to their keeping two, on their promise that the others should be sent to the camp. I remarked, that, as they brought back the dead bodies, every person carefully avoided touching, not only them, but even the blood on the poles to which they were slung, and in removing the covering of cocoa-nut leaves, a stick instead of the hand was used for the purpose : also that horror was marked on every countenance when their numerous wounds of spears were exposed to view ; for it must be observed, that those who were covered with leaves bore innumerable marks of the spears which had been thrust into them at the moment of their death ; the others had been despatched with clubs, after they had been shot, the marks of which were to be seen about their heads. This delicacy in concealing the wounded body of an enemy, and their caution in avoiding the touch of the blood or the dead carcasses, greatly staggered my belief of their being cannibals, although they did not deny that they sometimes eat their enemies, at least so we understood them ; but it is possible we may have misunderstood. We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them ; but from the little we became acquainted with, we are satisfied that it is not copious ; few words serve to express all they wish to say ; and one word



has oftentimes many significations ; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it away, &c. &c.* *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee* ; *mattee* is to be sick ; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be killed, to be broke (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motukee*, with slight variation of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence ; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent* : it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons ; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome, or beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language ; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies *to eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow* ; may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted ? it may signify *to cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies* ; whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me ; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings ; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods : they are also converted into fan-handles, form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.



Many specimens of this kind of ornament are now in my possession ; and there are few of the male natives who are destitute of them. I remarked, however, that none were in the house, or to be found among the numerous family of the venerable Gattanewa : and I am inclined to believe that the old man wished to signify this when he was understood to say that none of his family had ever eaten human flesh. After this little digression (if such it may be called) which is due to a people, who do not appear to deserve the stain which has been cast upon them, I shall proceed in my narrative.

As I before observed, on my appearance the music (if it may be called such) ceased ; anxious to know as much as possible the religion and other ceremonies of this people, I informed Gattanewa that they might proceed. The priest mounted on his elevation ; the warriors ranged themselves in lines about the square ; the priest, after shaking the dried branch of a palm-tree, to which was hung a bunch of human hair, repeated a few words, when three shouts were given by the warriors, as if with one voice, each shout accompanied with a loud clap of the hands, after which the drums beat for the space of about five minutes, during which time they all sung with loud voices and animated gestures until their voices gradually dying away, silence ensued—this ceremony was three times performed, and at each time with more and more animation : they repeatedly pointed to the dead bodies, and would, at times, address themselves to me. Wilson told me they were singing their victory over their enemies, and returning thanks to their gods for sending me to their aid. After the ceremony was over, the priest asked me if it was not *mo-tahee*, very fine, and on my signifying my assent, it gave the most lively pleasure.

I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs since the battle : they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for : he approached, trembling for his safety ; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly

of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgment of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribes of Tieuhoy.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### MADISON'S ISLAND.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,\* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives.

\* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.



Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Hai* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send down the fruit, which is

then hung together in bunches to a cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their sprouting state, consists chiefly of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground, and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and Marquesas Groups,

in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooa-heeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N.W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sailed, and in a squeaking affected voice inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six Islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitabee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling



our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with the dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which, the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe, and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste, which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word *kava* to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called *kava*; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called *kava*, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread-fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers, that a description of it here

may be thought by some superfluous. I have but little new to offer on the subject. Yet, as a description of it may not be disagreeable to such as may chance to peruse these pages, and as they are written chiefly for the improvement and information of my son, it is proper that I should instruct him on every subject which has come within my knowledge. The bread-fruit tree of this island grows with great luxuriance, in extensive groves, scattered through every valley. It is of the height of fifty or sixty feet, branching out in a large and spreading top, which affords a beautiful appearance and an extensive shade from the rays of the sun; the trunk is about six feet in circumference; the lower branches about twelve feet from the ground; the bark soft, and on being in the slightest degree wounded, exudes a milky juice, not unpleasant to the taste, which, on being exposed to the sun, forms an excellent bird-lime, and is used by the natives as such, not only for catching birds, but a small kind of rat with which this island is much infested. The leaves of this tree are sixteen inches long and nine inches wide, deeply notched, somewhat like the fig leaf. The fruit, when ripe, is about the size of a child's head, green, and divided by slight traces into innumerable six-sided figures. This fruit is somewhat elliptical in its shape, has a thin and delicate skin, a large and tough core, with remarkable small seeds situated in a spongy substance between the core and the eatable part, which is next the rind. It is eaten baked, boiled, or roasted; whole, quartered, or cut in slices, and cooked. Either way it was found exceedingly palatable, was greatly preferred by many to our soft bread, which it somewhat resembled in taste, but was much sweeter. It was found also very fine, when cut into slices, and fried in butter or lard. It keeps only three or four days, when gathered and hung up; but the natives have a method of preserving it for several years, by baking, wrapping it up in leaves, and burying it in the earth. In that state it becomes very sour, and is then more highly esteemed by them than any other food. The bread-fruit tree is every thing to the natives of these islands. The fruit serves them and their hogs for food throughout the year, and furnishes large supplies to be laid up for a season of scarcity. The trees afford them an agreeable and refreshing shade;

the leaves are an excellent covering for their houses ; of the inner bark of the small branches they make cloth ; the juice, which exudes, enables them to destroy the rats which infest them ; and of the trunk of the tree they form their canoes, many parts of their houses, and even their gods. Describe to one of the natives of Madison's Island a country abounding in every thing that we consider desirable, and after you are done, he will ask you if it produces bread-fruit. A country is nothing to them without that blessing, and the season for bread-fruit is the time of joy and festivity. It commences in December, and lasts until September, when the greatest abundance reigns among them. They sometimes gather it when at the extremity of the branches, by means of a long stick split at the end, with which they seize the stem, and dexterously twist it off, rarely letting the fruit fall to the ground. They commonly, however, have a small net, kept open at the mouth by means of a hoop, and attached to a pole, in the manner of a crab-net ; with this they disengage the fruit from the branches, receiving it in the net.

The young shoots from the roots are carefully collected, and planted in a nursery, until they arrive at a sufficient size to be transplanted ; they are several years old before they bear.

This day, *Mowattaeah*, a chief of the *Happahs*, of the tribe of *Nieekes*, and son-in-law to *Gattenewa*, came, accompanied by several others of his tribe, with the white handkerchief which I had sent them, to treat with me for a peace. I received him with mildness, and gently expostulated with them on their imprudence, in having insisted on hostilities with me. They expressed the utmost regret for their past folly, and hoped that I would allow them, in future, to live on the same friendly terms with me as *Gattenewa* and his people, stating their willingness to comply with every thing I should exact from them in reason. I informed them that as I had offered them peace, and they had rejected it, and had put me to the trouble of chastising them, it was proper that we should receive some compensation. We were in want of hogs, and fruit, and they had an abundance of them, and I wished them to give me a supply once a week, for my people, for which they should be compensated in iron, and such



other articles as would be most useful to them. *Gattanewa* and many of his tribe were present, and appeared charmed with the terms offered to the *Happahs* ; said they would henceforth be brothers, and observing, that I had not yet presented my hand, took it affectionately, and placed it in that of *Mowattaeh*. After a short silence, *Mowattaeh* observed, that we must suffer much from the rain in our tents, as they did not appear capable of securing us from the wet. Yes, said *Gattanewa*, and we are bound to make the *Hekai* (a title which they all gave me) and his people comfortable while they remain with us. Let every tribe at peace with him, build a house for their accommodation, and the people of the valley of *Tieuhoy* will show them the example, by building one for the residence of *Opotee*. This proposal met with general applause, and people were immediately despatched to prepare materials for erecting the fabric next day, at which time the *Happahs* promised to bring in their supply, and the day after to construct their house. In the course of the day, the other chiefs of the *Happahs*, came in with their flags, and subscribed to the terms proposed. In less than two days, I received envoys from every tribe in the island, with the exception only of the warlike tribes of *Typees*, of the valley of *Vieehee*, and the *Hatecaahcottwohos*, in the distant valley of *Hannahow* ; the first confiding in their strength, valour, and position ; the others in their distance and numbers for their protection. The first had always been victorious in all their wars, and the terror of their enemies ; the others were their firm allies. Neither had ever been beaten, they had been taught by their priests to believe that they never would be, and it was their constant boast, that they had ever kept their valley free from the incursions of an enemy.

All, with these exceptions, agreed to the terms proposed ; supplies were brought in by the tribes in great abundance, and from this time, for several weeks, we rioted in luxuries which the island afforded. To the principal persons of the tribes, I always presented a harpoon, it being to them the most valuable article of iron, and to the rest scraps of iron hoops were thrown, for which they took much delight in contending. Those who got none appeared equally satisfied with the rest ; those who were so fortu-

nate as to obtain a large piece, generously divided it with the others, and in no one instance did the mode of payment produce among them riot or dispute. The division was amicably and satisfactorily settled among themselves, without any interposition on my part, or that of the chiefs. All seemed perfectly satisfied that they would get their proportion, and the only contention among them was, who should get the most at their first outset, that they might afterwards have the pleasure of dividing it among the others. I have frequently thrown to them whole hoops, and it was no uncommon thing, for one of them to seize three, into one of which he would slip his body, while his arms were thrust through the others, and endeavour to make his escape from the camp. He would soon, however, be encompassed by numbers, who would each mark, with slips of bark, six or eight inches of a hoop, which he would claim as his own. They would all then retire, in a friendly manner, when the hoops would be broken in pieces, and each man receive his own. In this manner were all their affairs transacted without riot, without confusion, and without disputes. And so long as I remained on the island, I never saw or heard of the slightest difference between individuals, except in one instance, and they were of different valleys and tribes. The utmost harmony prevails among them; they live like affectionate brethren of one family, and the authority of their chiefs appears to be only that of fathers among their children.

Whether they have any mode of punishing offences, or whether punishment is ever necessary among them, I cannot say. I am inclined to be, however, of the latter opinion. I saw no punishments inflicted, nor did I ever hear that there was any cause.

Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude, that thefts among themselves are unknown.

That they, and particularly the women of that class which cohabited with the sailors, will steal from strangers, I had abundant proof. These, however, were of the lowest order, and honesty is not expected from them in any part of the world.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset, the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article, was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of near half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun. They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; coun-



tenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men, is of a dark copper-colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing intelligent and open countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to their sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

Virtue among them, in the light which we view it, was unknown, and they attached no shame to a proceeding which they not only considered as natural, but as an innocent and harmless amusement, by which no one was injured: many parents considered themselves as honoured by the preference given to their daughters, and testified their pleasure by large presents of hogs and fruit, which to them must have appeared munificent. With the young and timid virgins, no coercive measures were used by their parents to compel them to make any sacrifices, but endearing and soothing persuasions, enforced by rewards, were frequently adopted to overcome their fears. With the common sailors and their girls, all was helter skelter, and promiscuous intercourse, every girl the wife of every man in the mess, and frequently of every man in the ship; each one from time to time took such as suited his fancy and convenience, and no one among them formed a connexion

which was likely to produce tears at the moment of separation. With those of a superior class, the case was different; the connexions formed were respectable, and although their fair friends delighted in playing, on every occasion, little tricks of infidelity, which they considered as perfectly harmless, still they showed a fondness for the person with whom they were connected, and the parting, in several instances, I am sure, occasioned tears of real sorrow.

I must, however, do them the justice to say, that in practising the little infidelities above mentioned, they did not appear sensible of doing an injury to their lover; they were done as acts of retaliation on some of their female acquaintances; they were always flattered by a preference given them, and this preference, enforced by the powerful charm of a whale's tooth, could at all times purchase the favours of the best of them. When they had gained their prize, they could not refrain from boasting of it to their confidants, and in time it came to the ears of the lady who supposed she had the stronger claim to the tooth; this produced an act of retaliation on her part, not to injure her lover, but to mortify the lady who had infringed on her prerogatives. It is true, they are not insensible to jealousy, but this feeling is confined altogether to the females, who watch as carefully the conduct of their lovers, as the most jealous Don the wanderings of his spouse. She appears much offended if he show any attention to another female, and claims him exclusively as her own: whether this proceeds from motives of interest, which leads them to believe that all the little *tie ties* which he has to bestow should in time fall to them, or from custom, which gives to the females of this island a privilege which is supposed to be confined only to the men in other countries, I cannot say, but perhaps from both. The young girls of this island are the wives of all who can purchase their favours, and a handsome daughter is considered by her parents as a blessing which secures to them, for a time, wealth and abundance. After they have advanced in years, and have had children, they form more permanent connexions, and appear then as firmly attached to their husbands, as the women of any other country: indeed, it has often afforded me the most lively pleasure to witness the strong

affection which husbands and wives have shown for each other, and the tender care they at all times bestow on their offspring; they appeared actuated by one interest, and both took equal pleasure in fondling their infants. But the girls, from twelve to eighteen years of age, rove at will; this period of their lives is a period of unbounded pleasure, unrestrained in all their actions, unconfined by domestic occupations, their time is spent in dancing, singing, and ornamenting their persons to render themselves more attractive in the eyes of man, on whom they indiscriminately bestow their favours, unrestrained by shame or fear of the consequences. That terrible disease which has proved so destructive to mankind, is unknown to them, and they give free scope to the indulgence of their passions, living in the most pleasurable licentiousness.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: The head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third *ahuwakee*. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelops the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

The *ahuwakee* is a piece of cloth which passes twice



round the waist, and hangs down to the calves of the legs, performing the part of a petticoat. The whole of this dress being white, and generally kept clean and neat, gives to these female islanders an appearance of grace and modesty not to be found among any others in a state of nature. Their ornaments consist of beads strung round their necks, and circular pieces of ivory or whale's teeth attached to their ears. They have also another species of ornament, tastily formed of a dark kind of wood, which receives a high polish; it is fashioned something in the form of the letter Z, has its ends tipped with the mother of pearl, and is otherwise ornamented with beads and small teeth. They also wear occasionally round their necks a small wild cucumber, which abounds on the island; also a large red berry, which grows on a tree, and resembles, at a distance, the dried red peppers. The smell of this latter is agreeable, and this is probably what they most esteem it for. They also are fond of tying round their necks large bunches of sweet scented flowers, and when not restrained by tabbooes, they ornament their heads with rich plumage formed of the breast and tail feathers of the cock. They also anoint themselves with cocoa-nut oil mixed with a red paint made from turmeric-root, which is here highly esteemed, and cultivated with much care. This, in a short time, removes the yellowness of the skin, and displays a fair and clear complexion, which might vie in beauty with our handsomest dames. The roses are then blooming on their cheeks, and the transparency of their skin enables you to trace their fine blue veins. I had an opportunity of visiting a tribe that had not for a long time been tabooed. The beauty and gayety of the women astonished me, and I noticed some of the young girls, who, as respected the form of their persons, beauty of their faces, and fairness of their skins, might have served as the most perfect models.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty

feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular

rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley, had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, every body knew we were friends.



Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa ; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd ; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door ; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks ; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services ; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were

made. Several tubs full of them were collected and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we did not destroy a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned, as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is nowise inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

We found our copper much injured in many parts a little below the surface of the water, and were enabled, by means of the supply we had obtained and secured from our prizes, to make the necessary repairs, after giving the ship a slight careen. Her bottom was found, on examination, to have on it barnacles, in considerable quantities, together with much grass and moss, which had no doubt collected at the Gallipagos. To cleanse it and free the ship from those embarrassments which must greatly impede her sailing, the natives were employed, who, by diving down, with the assistance of the outer shell of the cocoa-nut, soon removed them. The boatswain, as

soon as he had completely overhauled the rigging of the ship, was employed on shore with a number of hands, where a rope-walk was established, to enlarge to a suitable size for a sea stock, the whale line and other small cordage found on board our prizes, as also to make into small cordage the junk remaining from our old and condemned cables. Every thing went on with order and regularity; every person was employed to the best advantage, and yet all were allowed sufficient time for amusement and relaxation. Wrestling, throwing the spear, jumping, and pitching quoits, occupied some of their leisure time.

Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending in his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to inquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false; I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace. They denied positively having refused him a passage, and strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

On the arrival of Temaa Tipee I remonstrated with him on the falsehood he had told me. He assured me that as he returned home from my camp, they had not only threatened, but had thrown stones at him, calling him coward, and threatening to drive him off his land. But on a closer inquiry, I found that I had been misinformed as



to the tribe that had treated him so cavalierly. It was the warlike tribe of the Typees of the valley of Vieehee, who had excited so much alarm in the minds of the Shouemes. They had always been the allies of each other; their valleys were only separated by a small ridge; they had intermarried and became almost as one tribe. The principal villages of the Shouemes were situated near the water, and wholly exposed to our attacks; while those of the Typees were considered as secured by their distance from the sea, and the almost impenetrable forests and perpendicular mountains by which only they were to be approached. The first consulted prudence, the others felt their own strength and security, and losing sight of the exposed situation of the Shouemes, attributed their conduct to cowardice alone, and spurned them as a degenerate tribe, unworthy of future alliance with them. Temaa Tipee claimed my protection, which I promised him. He then requested me to exchange names. I told him I had but two, one of which, (and the one I most esteemed) I had exchanged with Gattanewa, the other, however, was at his service as long as he and his tribe remained faithful to us. He and all present promised fidelity, and I gave him the name of David, while I took that of Temaa Tipee. Tavee (for so he called himself) and all his tribe were greatly pleased at the compliment, and from that time to the time of our departure conducted themselves with the utmost fidelity and friendship, and seldom permitted more than four or five days to elapse without sending in presents. Tavee was one of the handsomest men on the island, remarkably fond of ornamenting his person, a strip of red cloth, a string of beads, or a whale's tooth, had charms for him which were irresistible, and every thing which he held most dear were offered to obtain them.

The wife of Tavee was said to be the handsomest woman on the island, and he the fondest husband. Yet Tavee has repeatedly offered her to me for a string of glass beads.

Sometime after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united for-

ces into the sea ; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit ? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them ; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness ; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley. I was desirous of avoiding as long as possible hostilities with those people, but was fearful that their example might change the conduct of others towards us. Their message was delivered to me in the presence of Gattanewa, of Mouina, and many of the friendly tribes. Mouina frothed with rage, and was for proceeding to hostilities immediately ; but Gattanewa became serious and dejected, and after a silence of a few minutes told me he would send his son to advise them to be friendly with us ; nay, said the old man, I will go myself ; they are not aware of the dreadful effects of bouhies, and they must not suffer in consequence of their ignorance. I told him to send his son, that he was too old to proceed to so great a distance, and that I would wait his return before I determined what course to pursue. In two days he returned, and was desired by the Typees to tell Gattanewa and all the people of the valley of Tieuhoy, that they were cowards—that we had beat the Happahs because the Happahs were cowards ; that as to myself and my people, we were white lizards, mere dirt ; and as the most contemptible epithet which they could apply, said we were the posteriors and the privates of the Taechs. We were, said they, incapable of standing fatigue, overcome by the slightest heat and want of water, and could not climb the mountains without Indians to assist us and carry our arms. Yet we talked of chastising the Typees, a tribe which had never been driven by an enemy, and as their gods informed them were never to be beaten. They dared us to come into their valley, and said they would convince us they did not dread our bouhies as much as they were dreaded by the cowardly tribes of the Taechs, Happahs, and Shouemes. Now, said Gattanewa, I consent to war, they deserve chastisement ; and Mouina shortly afterwards appeared at the

village boiling with rage, and in rather a peremptory tone insisted on immediate hostilities. My aim was to render all the tribes subservient to my views. I then thought it necessary to check the manner of Mouina, lest it might become contagious, and I should find a difficulty in keeping them in that subjugation by which only we could render ourselves secure. I told him, therefore, that I did not need his advice, and that I should go to war or make peace when I thought proper, without consulting him; that it was only necessary that he should do as I directed him, and every thing must be left to my management. I further told him to leave our village until he could learn to conduct himself more respectfully. He walked off a few paces among the crowd, then turning round, coolly said, he believed I was a great coward. Forgetting that this was the observation of a mere Indian, I seized a musket and pursued him; he retreated among the crowd, and on my approaching him, presenting the musket and threatening him with destruction, on a repetition of such expressions, terror was marked on his countenance. I directed him immediately to leave the enclosure, and never presume to enter it again.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and despatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Tacehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as pos-



sible. Every thing now bore the appearance of war ; the Taeahs and Happahs could talk and think of nothing else, and I found it policy to keep this spirit alive, as it was likely to secure their friendship. Apprehensive however of a change of disposition on their part, I now conceived the design of constructing a fort, not only as a protection to our village and the harbour, but as a security to the Taeahs against further incursions ; and while it enabled us to give to them the most ample protection, would place them perfectly in our power, in the event of any hostility on their part. The place I had fixed on has been in some measure described as well suiting the purpose. We had an abundance of old water-casks, which, when filled with dirt, would afford an excellent breastwork, and small guns which we could conveniently mount. But before the commencement of this undertaking, I considered it advisable to obtain the consent of the tribes of the valley. I had for some time past intended leaving my prizes here as the most suitable place to lay them up, and this fort would give them additional security. Besides, I believed that the possession of this island might at some future period be of importance to my country, and I was desirous of rendering her claim to it indisputable. With these objects in view, I called on Gattanewa, and inquired of him and his people, who had assembled, whether they had any objections to my constructing the fort. They informed me that they were much pleased with my intention, as it would enable me to give them more effectual protection, and requested that they might be permitted to assist in its construction. I now required to know of them whether they would always be faithful to the American flag, and assist us in opposing our enemies. They replied that they had placed themselves entirely under my protection and control, that our enemies should be their enemies, that they would always receive my countrymen as brethren among them, and as far as lay in their power prevent our enemies from coming among them, knowing them to be such. I had frequently informed them of our being at war with Great Britain, and now explained to them the nature of our government, on which Gattanewa requested that they might not only be our friends and brothers, but our countrymen. I promised them that they should be so, and that they should be adopt-

ed as such as soon as the fort should be completed, when a salute should be fired on the occasion.

The Indians, instructed and assisted by a few of my people, levelled the top of the hill, the breastwork of water-casks were formed and filled with dirt, suitable spaces being left for embrasures, guns were landed from our prizes and mounted, and on the 14th of the month our fort was completed, being calculated for mounting sixteen guns, but I did not conceive it necessary at present to mount more than four. All worked with zeal, and as the friendly tribes were daily coming in with presents, all joined in the labour. The chiefs requested that they might be admitted on the same footing as the Taeahs, and every thing promised harmony between us. They would frequently speak of the war with the Typees, and I informed them I only waited for their war canoes to be put together and launched. And now I am on the subject of war canoes, I must break the chain of my narrative for the purpose of describing these vessels, as well as such others as are in use among the natives.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those already described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooahooga, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more splendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two feet in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up of a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used but for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented

with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gayly dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not however so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, similar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the



hypothénuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of cattamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

About this time I discovered a conspiracy on foot among my prisoners. Their object was to possess themselves of the Essex Junior, and the plan and method by which they expected to effect this object was as follows:

They had all been permitted to go on shore and on board the different vessels whenever they wished, on a promise of conducting themselves with propriety, and not absenting themselves so that they could not be found. They were, in fact, admitted on parole, and all restrictions removed.

This extensive indulgence encouraged them in the hopes of making their escape, and headed by Lawson, the mate of the Sir Andrew Hammond, they had fixed on the night of the 14th to make their attempt, which was to be effected by getting such of her crew as remained on board intoxicated with rum mixed with laudanum. This was already prepared to administer, and Lawson was to attend to this part of the scheme. The third mate, with the prisoners on shore, was to get possession of the canoes on the beach, and with them surprise the ship and take her to sea, there being no other vessel ready to follow her, and no powder on board the Essex which would enable her to stop them. Such was their plan, and such their expectations. I had been informed of it almost as soon as it was conceived, was willing to humour the scheme, and gave them every opportunity of making the trial, adopting, at the same time, suitable means to have them secured and punished for their perfidy. At the time of the formation of this plan, and while Lawson and the others were using their greatest exertions to get rum at any price, our rum casks

were lying on the gun-deck, under charge of a sentinel, where they had been put while we were smoking the rats. Two of the sentinels were detected, one in conniving, and the other in assisting some persons in stealing rum. I did not inquire who were those concerned in the theft, lest the discovery might make known to the conspirators my knowledge of their scheme. I therefore punished the sentinels severely for not putting them to death; informed the crew generally of the most absolute necessity for extraordinary vigilance; and told the marines that for the next neglect of duty, I should punish the offender to the utmost extent of my power.

The next evening, after going my rounds at the camp, to see that every thing was right, I went to bed, and at half past ten o'clock, not hearing the sentinel at the bake-house call out *all's well*, I inquired the cause. The sergeant of the guard, on examination, reported to me that the sentinel was lying down asleep, and that he had not disturbed him. I determined now, should this be the case, to punish him as he deserved. I felt the necessity of vigilance, not only on account of our prisoners, but on account of the natives. I felt persuaded that we owed the friendly footing on which we now stood with them entirely to our convincing them we were always on our guard, and I was determined that the safety of the whole should not be hazarded by the neglect of the marines. I therefore seized my pistol, and followed by the sergeant and a guard, proceeded for the bake-house, where we found the culprit fast asleep, his musket lying beside him. I directed him to be seized, and at the same moment he was wounded through the fleshy part of the thigh. This example had a proper effect, and rendered every person more vigilant, particularly the marines. I shall make no further comments on this affair: if the punishment should appear a severe one, let those who censure me place themselves for a moment in my situation: I was far distant from the means of obtaining a judicial inquiry into his offence, which would probably have terminated fatally for him; promptness and vigilance on my part were the only sure guarantees to the success of a cruise so highly important to the interests of my country.

As I before observed, Sunday night was the period fixed

on by the conspirators for making their attempt. But unfortunately (or rather fortunately) for them, it so happened that a ship hove in sight off the mouth of the harbour on Saturday afternoon, and on discovering us stood off to sea under a press of sail. The Essex Junior immediately slipped her cables, and gave chase to her, and not expecting her back before Monday, I put all my prisoners in irons, and thus at once frustrated a scheme which had wholly engrossed them for the last week. With a determination that I would make them suffer for violating their parole, I sent them all on shore to the village, and set them to work in building a wall to surround it, which was finished before my departure from the island.

On Sunday afternoon the Essex Junior arrived. Mr. Downes had spoke the stranger, which proved to be the American ship Albatross, from the Sandwich islands, and had come for the purpose of procuring sandal-wood. The Albatross did not get in until the next day. The arrival of this ship gave me no pleasure; for although the meeting with my countrymen in any part of the world but this, would have proved a joyous event, I was in hopes that our arrival and operations here would for a long time be kept a secret. The evils I apprehended from her making her knowledge of us public, far more than counterbalanced any satisfaction which I expected from her arrival. Some short time prior to this, an event took place which threatened disagreeable consequences. The matter was however adjusted much to my satisfaction, and on the whole I considered the circumstance which gave rise to it as the most fortunate that could have happened, as it relieved me entirely from my anxiety on a subject which of all others had given me the most uneasiness.

Robert Dunn, quarter-master, had been threatened (by the officer of the watch) with punishment for some neglect of duty. Dunn said that the time for which he enlisted had expired, and if he was punished, he would never again do duty in the ship. When this was reported to me, it occasioned me much uneasiness. Most of my crew were in the situation of Dunn, and it became necessary to find a remedy for the evil. Promptness and decision were indispensable, and with as little loss of time as possible I caused all hands to be called on the quarter-deck,



where I informed them of the offence of Dunn. Then directing him to strip, I assured him that I should punish him severely, and to prevent his ever doing duty in the ship, I should turn him on shore on the island, observing that his time was out, and it was proper he should have his discharge. After this, addressing myself to the ship's company, I expostulated with them on the impropriety, and the evils likely to result from such conduct as Dunn's, and expressed a determination to have no man under my command who had it in his power to say his time was out, and he would no longer do duty. I informed them that the times of many were out, and from that moment I gave up all claim on them for their services; that they were their own masters, and should have their discharge on the spot. If they wished to enlist again for the cruise, I would enlist them, give them the usual advance, and on a suitable occasion give them three days liberty on shore. That such as refused to enlist, but would bind themselves to do duty, might remain on board till I would have an opportunity of putting them on shore in some civilized place. They should be supplied with provisions; but should be allowed neither pay nor prize-money. Such as wished their discharge were called on for their names, in order that it might be made out in form, and they were all informed that the shipping papers were laid open for all such as wished to enter. I now was about proceeding to the punishment of Dunn, when most of the officers, petty officers, and seamen, came forward and solicited his pardon, stating that he appeared intoxicated at the time he made the observation, and not sensible of the offence he committed. Dunn also begged forgiveness most earnestly, and hoped, whatever other punishment I might inflict, I would not turn him on shore. He was sensible his offence had been a great one, but pleaded intoxication, and as a proof of his attachment to the ship, requested his name to be placed first on the list. I thought it on the whole advisable to pardon him; the men were dismissed; every man of all the ships re-entered except one, who, from some foolish whim, did not wish to re-enlist, although he was desirous of remaining doing duty and receiving pay. I determined not to depart from the principles laid down. I stopped his pay, and afterwards sent him to America in

the New Zealander. This affair (which, when joined to conspiracies, neglect of duty, and my difficulties with the tribes, had caused me much uneasiness) was now settled. The arrival of the Albatross was hailed by our seamen as the most joyful event. She had brought from Canton a cargo suited to this Island, consisting of beads and various other trinkets, to exchange with the natives for sandalwood. She soon procured all that was to be obtained, and disposed of to our seamen the principal part of her remaining trade at the most exorbitant prices. They had all received their advance money; it was to them useless trash, and soon disposed of for such articles as would be most likely to please their female friends, who, hearing of the abundance of *peepees* (for so they called beads) and other *tie ties*, with which our men were supplied, flocked round our settlement from every tribe with whom we were at peace.

On the 19th November, the American flag was displayed in our fort, a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the artillery mounted there, and returned by the shipping in the harbour. The island was taken possession of for the United States, and called Madison's Island, the fort, Fort Madison, the village, Madison's Ville, and the bay, Massachusetts Bay. The following declaration of the act of taking possession was read and signed, after which the prosperity of our newly acquired Island was drunk by all present. The object of this ceremony had been previously and was again explained to the natives. They were all much pleased at being *Melleekes*, as they called themselves, and wanted to know if their new chief was as great a man as Gattanewa.

#### DECLARATION.

"It is hereby made known to the world, that I, David Porter, a captain in the navy of the United States of America, and now in command of the United States' frigate the Essex, have, on the part of the said United States, taken possession of the island called by the natives Nooaheevah, generally known by the name of sir Henry Martin's island, but now called Madison's Island. That by the request and assistance of the friendly tribes residing

in the valley of Tieuhoy, as well as of the tribes residing on the mountains, whom we have conquered and rendered tributary to our flag, I have caused the village of Madison to be built, consisting of six convenient houses, a rope walk, bakery, and other appurtenances, and for the protection of the same, as well as for that of the friendly natives, I have constructed a fort, calculated for mounting sixteen guns, whereon I have mounted four, and called the same Fort Madison.

"Our rights to this island being founded on priority of discovery, conquest, and possession, cannot be disputed. But the natives, to secure to themselves that friendly protection which their defenceless situation so much required, have requested to be admitted into the great American family, whose pure republican policy approaches so near their own. And in order to encourage these views to their own interest and happiness, as well as to render secure our claim to an island valuable, on many considerations, I have taken on myself to promise them they shall be so adopted; that our chief shall be their chief; and they have given assurances that such of their brethren as may hereafter visit them from the United States, shall enjoy a welcome and hospitable reception among them, and be furnished with whatever refreshments and supplies the island may afford; that they will protect them against all their enemies, and, as far as lies in their power, prevent the subjects of Great Britain (knowing them to be such) from coming among them until peace shall take place between the two nations.

"Presents, consisting of the produce of the island to a great amount, have been brought in by every tribe in the island, not excepting the most remote, and have been enumerated as follows, viz.

"Six tribes in the valley of Tieuhoy, called the Taeeks, viz. 1 Hoattas, 2 Maouhs, 3 Houneeahs, 4 Pakeuhs, 5 Hekuahs, 6 Havvouhs.

"Six tribes of the Happahs, 1 Nieceeks, 2 Tattievows, 3 Pachas, 4 Keekahs, 5 Tekahs, 6 Muttawhoas.

"Three tribes of the Maamatwuahs, 1 Maamatwuahs, 2 Tioahs, 3 Cahahas.

"Three tribes of the Attatokahs, 1 Attatokahs, 2 Takeeahs, 3 Paheutahs.



"Nieekes, one tribe.

"Twelve tribes of the Typees, 1 Poheguahs, 2 Naegu-ahs, 3 Attaiyas, 4 Cahunukohas, 5 Tomavaheenahs, 6 Tickeymahues, 7 MooaEEKas, 8 Atteshows, 9 Attestapwyhunahs, 10 Attehacoes, 11 Attetomohoy, 12 Attakakaha-neuahs.

"Most of the above have requested to be taken under the protection of our flag, and all have been willing to purchase, on any terms, a friendship which promises to them so many advantages.

"Influenced by considerations of humanity, which promise speedy civilization to a race of men who enjoy every mental and bodily endowment which nature can bestow, and which requires only art to perfect, as well as by views of policy, which secure to my country a fruitful and populous island, possessing every advantage of security and supplies for vessels, and which, of all others, is the most happily situated, as respects climate and local position, I do declare that I have, in the most solemn manner, under the American flag displayed in Fort Madison, and in the presence of numerous witnesses, taken possession of the said island, called Madison's Island, for the use of the United States, whereof I am a citizen; and that the act of taking possession was announced by a salute of seventeen guns from the artillery of Fort Madison, and returned by the shipping in the harbour, which is hereafter to be called Massachusetts Bay.—And that our claim to this island may not be hereafter disputed, I have buried in a bottle, at the foot of the flagstaff in Fort Madison, a copy of this instrument, together with several pieces of money, the coin of the United States.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature, this 19th day of November, 1813.

Signed, DAVID PORTER.

"Witnesses present:

"Signed, John Downes, lieutenant U. S. N.

James P. Wilmer, lieutenant U. S. N.

S. D. McKnight, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

John G. Cowel, acting lieutenant U. S. N.

David P. Adams, chaplain U. S. N.

John M. Gamble, lieutenant U. S. marines.

Richard K. Hoffman, acting surgeon U. S. N.

*This bottle was dug up by officers of H B M S Briton in 1814. See "Narrative of the British Voyage" by St John Schollaber, London 1817*

John M. Maury, midshipman U. S. N.  
M. W. Bostwick, acting midshipman U. S. N.  
William Smith, master of the American ship  
Albatross  
William H. Odenheimer, acting surgeon master  
U. S. N.  
Wilson P. Hunt, agent for the American North  
Pacific fur company.  
P. de Mester, }  
Benjamin Clapp, } Citizens of the U. States."

The wooding, watering, and taking on board the provisions and stores, went on expeditiously, and all appeared to exert themselves to hasten our departure. The Albatross remained with us but a few days, when she sailed on her return to the Sandwich Islands. Previous to her departure I sold to her commander the guns mounted on Fort Madison, solely with a view of doing away any impression as to my motives in mounting them there. All now supposed that it was done only with a view of going through the formality of taking possession; but at a suitable time after her departure they were replaced by others.

On the Albatross going to sea, which was on the 24th of November, I sent some of my boats to tow her out, and went on board myself to deliver to the captain all our letters, carefully put up in lead, to be thrown overboard in case of capture. I went as far as the mouth of the harbour, when finding the morning pleasant, and the sea smooth, I determined to proceed to the bay, which I had understood was to the westward, for the purpose of giving it an examination. I accordingly despatched Mr. Shaw to the frigate for arms, and on his rejoining me we put off, and arrived in the bay we were in search of in about an hour and a half. The distance from Massachusetts Bay was supposed to be about eight miles, the coast between being generally iron bound, with the exception of two beaches and some coves making in, which did not appear to offer any shelter or other advantages. The bay, of which we could see no traces, until we were very close in with it, is narrow at its entrance, and makes in two coves, the most eastern of which affords the best shelter and landing, but appears destitute of inhabitants. and (I con-

cluded also) of water, as I could perceive no rivulets. We landed in the western cove, near the village, and at the mouth of a beautiful rivulet which was meandering through the valley, and is of sufficient depth for their largest canoes to enter. On landing, many of the natives came to the beach, who seemed disposed to treat us in the most friendly manner; but apprehensive of being troubled by their numbers, I drew a line in the sand, at some distance about the boats, and informed them they were *tabbooed*. As an additional security to us, I caused all the arms to be loaded and ready for service on the first alarm, and sentinels placed over them. Shortly after this the chief came down to invite me to the public square, the usual place in all their villages for the reception of strangers. The women and girls assembled from all quarters of the town, dressed out in all their finery to meet us. They were here free from all the restraints imposed by the *tabboos*, abundantly anointed with the oil of the coconut, and their skins well bedaubed with red and yellow paint, as was their clothing. Some were also smeared with greenish paint, the object of which I found, on inquiry, was to preserve the fairness and beauty of the skin. Of this they seemed to take particular pains, every one of them being furnished with a kind of umbrella, formed of a bunch of palm leaves, to shield them from the effects of the sun. Their care and attention in this particular had rendered them far superior in point of beauty to the females of our valley, and the difference was so striking as to make them appear a distinct people. Some of the girls, probably in compliment to us, or to render themselves more attractive in our eyes, washed themselves in the stream, threw aside their bedaubed clothing, and soon appeared neatly clad in cloth of the purest white. I can say, without exaggeration, that I never have seen women more perfectly beautiful in form, features, and complexion, or that had playful innocence more strongly marked on their countenances or in their manners. All seemed perfectly easy and even graceful, and all strove by their winning attentions, who should render themselves most pleasing to us. The girls formed a circle round us, and those of a more advanced age were seated outside of them. The men showed us every kind attention, and strove to convince us



of their friendship by bringing us cocoa-nuts, and cooking for us hogs and bread-fruit after their manner, which were found excellent. The manner of cleansing and cooking their hogs is as follows: a hole of a convenient size is dug in the ground, the bottom and sides of which are lined with stones, a fire is then made in it, and the whole covered with more stones. The hog is then strangled, and when the stones are sufficiently heated, is drawn backwards and forwards on them to remove the bristles, which, by this practice, are easily taken off. He is then carried to the stream and there gutted and washed clean. The upper layer of stones and fire are then removed, and the lower tier and sides are carefully covered with plantain leaves, on which the hog is laid after having his inside filled with hot stones enveloped with leaves. The whole is then covered with the same kind of leaves, and the remaining stones are laid on him, over which is placed another covering of leaves, and this is covered with dirt, which had been taken from the hole. In the course of an hour it is perfectly cooked, the coverings are carefully removed, the meat served up on clean plantain leaves, and no mode of cooking can possibly excel it in point of taste, cleanliness, or appearance. The bread-fruit is also enveloped in plantain leaves, and roasted in the embers. When the hog was cooked it was served up to us in the circle, and we amused ourselves in dividing the choicest pieces among the girls, who testified much pleasure at the attention paid to them. After which we extended our civilities to the other women, and divided the remainder among the men, reserving a small portion to ourselves. A daughter of Gattanewa was among them; she was the wife of the chief who had met us on our arrival; she seemed no less friendly disposed than her husband, and embraced me as her father, reminding me frequently, that from the exchange of names I had become such. From her filial affection she bestowed on me a bountiful supply of the red and yellow paint with which she was covered. She insisted on my sending away my boats and people, and remaining with them until the next day, and no excuse that I could offer for my return to the ship would satisfy her. They all joined in her solicitations, and, as an inducement for me to remain, promised me the choicest mats to sleep on, and

the handsomest girls in the village to sing me to sleep. After our repast, all the women joined in a song, which was accompanied by the clapping of hands; it lasted near half an hour, and was not unmusical. I inquired the subject of it, and was informed by Wilson that it was the history of the loves of a young man and a young woman of their valley: they sung their mutual attachment, and the praises of their beauty; described with raptures the handsome beads and whales' teeth earrings with which she was bedecked, and the large whale's tooth which hung from his neck. They afterwards joined in a short song, which they appeared to compose as they sung, in which I could plainly distinguish the words *Opotee, ti ties, peepees*, &c. (Porter presents beads, &c.) after which they strove in various ways who should most amuse us, the men in dancing, the girls in playing scratch cradle, (an amusement well known in America) at which they are more dexterous than any other I ever met with. The thread used for this purpose is made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, and is generally worn by the young girls (who greatly delight in this amusement) round the neck, or made up with much ingenuity and compactness into a small skein, and is put through the hole of the ear, where it serves the double purpose of keeping it distended, and amusing them occasionally. It is really astonishing to see what variety of forms they will give to this thread, and with what dexterity and expedition they will change it from one form to another. Sometimes it assumes the appearance of the finest network, and in an instant changes to that of lace. Sometimes the reticulations are diamond like, square or polyedrous, and sometimes compounded of the whole.

Our time passed rapidly with these kind people, and the evening approached before we were aware of it. It became necessary to hasten to the ship, and we bade them farewell, with a promise that we should shortly return and bring with us a larger supply of *peepees* and other *tie ties*, so much desired by them.

This bay, as I before observed, affords good shelter. The entrance is narrow, the water deep, and the landing good; but I should not deem it adviseable to enter with a large vessel, as the lee point runs out for a great distance, and must render the egress difficult and dangerous. The

rocks forming this valley are steep and inaccessible, but the lower grounds fertile and thickly covered with plantations. The village is handsome, and regularly laid out in streets, and the whole country romantic in the extreme. I called this bay, in compliment to lieutenant Lewis of the United States navy, who first discovered it, Lewis's Bay.

On my return to the ship, I directed Mr. John J. King, master's mate, to take command of the *New Zealander*, to proceed to the United States, after taking on board that ship all the oil of my other prizes, which I expected would complete her cargo. Every article not necessary for her was sent on shore, and every exertion was made to despatch her as soon as possible.



## CHAPTER XV.

### MADISON'S ISLAND—TYPEE WAR.

THE Taaehs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taaehs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taaehs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

On the 27th November I informed the Taaehs and Happahs that I should next day go to war with the Typees, agreeably to my original plan, and directed Gattanewa to proceed on board the Essex Junior, with two persons who went to perform the office of ambassadors. These, on the arrival of the ship in their bay, were to be sent to the Typees, offering the same terms of peace as were accepted by the others. The Essex Junior sailed in the afternoon, and I proceeded next morning, at three o'clock, with five boats, accompanied by ten war canoes, blowing their conchs as a signal to keep together. One of our boats separated from the others, passed the bay, and did not rejoin us again until the middle of the day. We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taaeh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Taaehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre. We only waited for reinforcements from the Essex Junior, our interpreter, our ambassadors, and Gattanewa; and on the ship's anchoring, I went on board to hasten them on shore, directing lieutenant Downes to bring with him fifteen men; these, with the twenty on shore, I supposed would be fully sufficient to incline them to terms. On my return to the beach, I found every one in arms, the

Typees had appeared in the bushes, and had pelted our people with stones, while quietly eating their breakfast. They, as well as the Taeahs and Happahs, were all on their guard, but no hostilities had been offered on our part. I had brought with me one of those whom I had intended to employ as ambassadors; he had intermarried with the Typees, and was privileged to go among them. I furnished him with a white flag, and sent him to inform the Typees that I had come to offer them peace, but was prepared for war; that I only required that they should submit to the same terms as those entered into by the other tribes, and that their friendship would be much more pleasing to me than any satisfaction which I expected to derive from chastising them. In a few minutes after the departure of my messenger he came running back, the picture of terror, and informed me he had met in the bushes an ambuscade of Typees, who, regardless of his flag of truce, which he displayed to them, had driven him back with blows, and had threatened to put him to death if he again ventured among them. In an instant afterwards we had a confirmation of his statement in a shower of stones which came from the bushes, at the same moment one of them darted across the pathway and was shot through the leg, but was carried off by his friends. Hostilities had now commenced; lieutenant Downes had arrived with his men, and I gave the order to march. Mouina, having forgot the difference which had taken place between us, placed himself, as usual, in advance; we entered the bushes, and were at every instant assailed by spears and stones, which came from different parties of the enemy in ambuscade. We could hear the snapping of the slings, the whistling of the stones, the spears came quivering by us, but we could not perceive from whom they came; no enemy was to be seen, not a whisper was to be heard among them. To remain still would have proved fatal to us; to have retreated would have convinced them of our fears and our incapacity to injure them; our only safety was in advancing and endeavouring to clear the thicket, which I had been informed was of no great extent.

We had advanced about a mile, and had received no injury, nor had we reason to believe we had done any to the enemy (who we could only get a glimpse of as they



darted from tree to tree) although we had kept up a scattering fire on them. We at length came to a small opening on the bank of a river, from the thicket on the opposite side of which we were assailed with a shower of stones, when lieutenant Downes received a blow which shattered the bone of his left leg, and he fell. We had left parties in ambush in our rear, which we had not been able to dislodge, and to trust him to the Indians alone to take back was hazarding too much. I was fearful of weakening my force by sending a party to escort him, and to have returned back would have been construed by the allied tribes into a defeat. They had taken no active part, they sat as silent observers of our operations, the sides of the mountains were still covered with them, and myself as well as the Taeahs, had no slight grounds to doubt the fidelity of the Happaahs. A defeat would no doubt have sealed our destruction. I had come with a force very inadequate to reduce them to terms, having received wrong impressions as to the country through which we had to pass. But since we had come it was necessary something should be done to convince them of our superiority. The Indians began to leave us, all depended on our own exertions, and no time was to be lost in deliberation. I therefore directed Mr. Shaw with four men to escort lieutenant Downes to the beach; this, with the party I had left for the protection of the boats, reduced my number to twenty-four men. As we continued our march the number of our allies became reduced, and even the brave Mouina, the first to expose himself, began to hang back. While he kept in advance, he had, by the quickness of his sight, which was astonishing, put us on our guard as the stones and spears came, and enabled us to elude them, but now they came too thick even for him to withstand.

We soon came to the place for fording the river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on

account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. Mouina and two or three others of the natives had kept with us, the others had not crossed the river. We soon came to a small space cleared of the small trees and the underwood; the natives had ceased to annoy us, and we had hoped soon to have arrived at their village, which I had been informed was at no great distance. On emerging from the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them, I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the

Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. Our only safety now depended on holding our ground until we could procure a fresh supply of ammunition, and in reserving the few charges on hand until it could be brought to us. I mentioned my intentions to my people, exhorted them to save their ammunition as much as possible, and despatched lieutenant Gamble with a detachment of four men to the beach, there to take a boat and proceed to the Essex Junior for a fresh supply. We were from the time of his departure chiefly occupied in eluding the stones which came with redoubled force and numbers. Our fire had become slackened, a few muskets only occasionally were fired to convince them we were not yet disposed to retreat. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. Mouina begged me to retreat, crying mattee! mattee! The wounded entreated me to permit the others to carry them to the beach, but I had none to spare to accompany them. I saw no hopes of succeeding against the Typees, so long as they kept their strong hold; and determined to endeavour to draw them out by a feigned retreat, and by this means to gain an advantage. For to return without gaining some advantage would, I believed, have rendered an attack from the Happaes certain. I communicated my intentions; directed the wounded to be taken care of; gave orders for all to run until we were concealed by the bushes, and then halt. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort. Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and



we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

On my arrival, I found the boat which had been missing, together with a reinforcement of men from the Essex Junior, and a supply of ammunition. I was desirous of sounding the Typees before I proceeded to further extremities, as also to impress our allies with the idea that we could carry all before us. Assuming the air and language of a conqueror (although I must confess I felt little like one) I directed one of the ambassadors to proceed to the Typee fort, to tell them, that with a handful of men we had driven them into their fortifications, that we had killed two and wounded several of them, and had now a force sufficient to drive them out of the valley; that I did not wish to do them further injury, and still offered to them the terms I had first proposed. They told my messenger to tell me, that they had killed my chief warrior (for such they supposed Mr. Downes to be;) that they had wounded several of my people, and compelled us to retreat. It was true, they said, we had killed two of them, and wounded many others; but considering their superior numbers, what was this compared to the injury they had done us. They had men to spare, we had not. If we were able to drive them from their valley, what could I promise myself by telling them of it. I must know they would not believe me until I had done it. They said they had counted our boats; they knew the number that each would carry, and were as well acquainted with my force as myself. They knew their strength, and the numbers they could oppose; and held our bouhies in more contempt than ever; they frequently missed fire, rarely killed, and the wounds they occasioned were not as painful as those of a spear or stone. They added, they knew they would prove perfectly useless to us should it come on to rain. They dared us to renew the contest; and assured us they would not retreat beyond where we had left them.

Overcome with fatigue, and discouraged by the formidable appearance of their fortress, my men also fatigued and disheartened from the number of wounded, I determined to leave them for the present, but meditated a severe

punishment for them. The Happahs had now descended the hills with their arms; the Shouemes appeared on the other side, and "the Typees have driven the white men," was the constant topic of conversation. We were still but a handful, and were surrounded by several thousand Indians; and although they professed friendship, I did not feel safe. I therefore directed every body to embark and proceed to the Essex Junior, anxious to know the state of lieutenant Downes. We had scarcely arrived at the ship before the Typees rushed on our allies, who had remained behind, and drove them into their canoes and into the water. We sprang into our boats, and pulled towards the shore, when they precipitately retreated, and our allies pursued in turn, and knocked over with a stone one of the Typee warriors, whose body they triumphantly bore off. Finding they would not face us in a clear space, and being perfectly sick of bush fighting, I returned to Massachusetts Bay with my boats, and directed the Essex Junior to follow when the wind suited.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Happahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the Tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages, and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the Essex, the Essex Junior (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge

of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The Essex's crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. I gave the orders for marching, and sent word of my intentions to Gattanewa, in order that neither him nor his people might be alarmed by our warlike movements. I directed the party sent in advance to halt as soon as they had gained the top of the mountain until I came up with the main body. There I intended encamping for the night, should our men not be able to stand the fatigue of a longer march. Several gave out before we reached the summit, which we did in about three hours, with great difficulty. But after resting a short time, and finding ourselves refreshed, the moon shining out bright, and our guides informing us (though very incorrectly) that we were not more than six miles from the enemy, we again marched. Several Indians had joined us, but I had imposed silence on them, as we were under the necessity of passing a Happah village, and was fearful of their discovering us, and giving intelligence to the Typees. Not a whisper was heard from one end of the line to the other; our guides marched in front, and we followed in silence up and down the steep sides of rocks and mountains, through rivulets, thickets, and reed brakes, and by the sides of precipices which sometimes caused us to shudder. At twelve o'clock we could hear the drums beating in the Typee valley, accompanied by loud singing, and the number of lights in different parts of it induced me to believe they were rejoicing. I inquired the cause, and was informed by the Indians they were celebrating the victory they had obtained over us, and calling on their gods to give them rain, in order that it might render our bouhies useless. We soon arrived at the pathway leading from the top of the mountains into the valley. But the Indians told us that it would be impossible to descend it without daylight; that the mountain was almost perpendicular, and that in many places we should be under the necessity of lowering ourselves down with great caution, and that it would be even



necessary for them to assist us in the day-time to enable us to get down with safety. Believing from experience that when the natives considered the roads bad, they would prove really so to us, and finding that my men were much fatigued, and averse to risking their necks any longer at night, added to which, several of my stoutest men had given out, and were left under charge of the Indians on the road, I concluded that it would be most adviseable to wait for daylight before we attempted to descend. We were in possession of the pathway to the valley, and could prevent the Happahs from giving them any intelligence of us; we were on a narrow ridge running between the valleys of the two tribes, well situated to guard against surprise, and defend ourselves from an attack from either; and what added to the convenience of our situation, we had a stream of water not far distant.

I had left a small party in charge of a hill, which appeared to me then a commanding situation; but after coming to my present determination, I sent a messenger to call them in, and after placing guards, we laid down on our arms. I had fallen into a dose, when an Indian came to inform me that it was coming on to rain very heavy, and as he expressed himself, would mattee! mattee! bouhie. This appearance of rain caused loud shouts of joy in the Typee valley and drums were beating in every quarter. I cautioned my men about taking care of their arms and ammunition; but from the violence of the rain, which soon poured down in torrents, I had little hope that a musket would be kept dry or a cartridge saved. Never, in the course of my life, did I spend a more anxious or disagreeable night, and I believe there were few with me who had ever seen its equal. A cold and piercing wind accompanied the deluge, for I can call it nothing else, and chilled us to the heart. Without room to keep ourselves warm by moving about, fearful of stirring, lest we might be precipitated into eternity down the steep sides of the mountains, for the ridge had now become so slippery we could scarcely keep our feet—we all anxiously looked for morning, and the first dawn of day, although the wind and rain still continued, was a cheering sight to us, notwithstanding our apprehensions for the fate of the ammunition and the condition of our muskets. We were all as perfect-

ly wet as though we had been under water the whole time, and we scarcely entertained a hope that a single cartridge or musket had escaped. The Indians kept exclaiming that our muskets were spoiled, and anxiously wished us to retreat in time ; but notwithstanding my fears on the subject, I endeavoured to impress them with a belief that water could do them no injury. As soon as it was light enough, I went among my men and inquired into the state of their arms and ammunition. The first had escaped better than I had any reason to hope ; but of the latter more than one half was wet and unfit for service.

The Happah village lay on one side of the mountain, as I before observed, the Typee on the other, and when it was light enough to see down into the valley of the latter, we were astonished at the greatness of the height we were elevated above them, and the steepness of the mountain by which we should have to descend to get to them. A narrow pathway pointed out the track, but it was soon lost among the cliffs. The Indians informed me that in the present slippery state of the mountain no one could descend, and as our men were much harassed with fatigue, overcome with hunger, shivering, and uncomfortable, I determined to take up my quarters in the Happah valley until next day, to enable us to refresh, and I hoped by that time the weather would prove more favourable. The chief soon arrived, and I communicated to him my intentions, directing him to send down and have houses provided for us, as also hogs and fruit, all of which he promised should be done. Before I left the hill, I determined, by firing a volley, to show the natives that our muskets had not received as much injury as they had expected, for I believed, under their impressions, at that moment, the Happahs would not have hesitated in making an attack on us, and to avoid any difficulties with them, I thought it best to convince them we were still formidable. I had other motives also for firing, the Tayeehs and Happahs, I knew, would accompany us into the Typee valley ; and as I had put off our descent until the next day, I concluded that it would be best to give them timely notice of our approach, that they might be enabled to remove their women and children, their hogs, and most valuable effects. Although I felt it necessary to self-defence, to chastise them into

submission, I wished to prevent the innocent from suffering, or the pillage and destruction of their property. My own men, I knew, would be sufficiently occupied in fighting to prevent their plundering, but the Indians, who accompanied us, would be intent on that object alone. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicions of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley, which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Happaes, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had, in all appearance, been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted. After placing guards, and taking such precautions as our situation rendered necessary, I retired to sleep; my recommending to others to do the same was unnecessary. We saw no appearance of cooking hogs, however, no fruit was brought in, nor did the natives appear disposed to accommodate us further than to abandon to us their houses: every thing was taken out of them, and we were left to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could. I requested a mat to sleep on, but it was long, before one could be obtained. I wanted a piece of cloth to wrap round my loins, while my clothes were washing and drying, and it was with great difficulty I could get it; many of my people were complaining of hunger, and could get nothing to eat, although the valley abounded in hogs and fruit. The Happaes assembled about us, armed with



their clubs and spears; and the women, who had at first crowded round, now began to abandon us. Every thing bore the appearance of a hostile disposition, on the part of the Happahs, and our friends, the Tayeehs, cautioned us to be on our guard. I directed every one to keep their arms in their hands, ready to assemble at a moment's warning. I now sent for their chief and required to know if they were hostilely disposed. I told him it was necessary we should have something to eat, and that I expected his people to bring us hogs and fruit, and if they did not do so, I should be under the necessity of sending out parties to shoot them, and to cut down their fruit trees, as our people were too much fatigued to climb them. I also directed that they should lay by their spears and clubs. No notice being taken of these demands, I caused many of their spears and clubs to be taken from them and broken, and sent parties out to shoot hogs, while others were employed in cutting down cocoa-nut and banana trees until we had a sufficient supply. I now expostulated with them on their unfriendly conduct, compared their reception of us to that given by Gattanewa, and appealed to Tawatta and Mouina (who had both arrived) for the correctness of my statement.

The chiefs and the people of the Happah tribe now became intimidated, and brought and baked hogs in greater abundance than were required; friendship was re-established, and the women returned.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeehs remained with us, the Happahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we equally divided our ammunition, and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day.

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three

or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

Many may censure my conduct as wanton and unjust. In the security of the fireside, and under the protection of the laws which are their safeguards, at all times, they may question the motives of my conduct, and deny the necessity which compelled me to pursue it. But let such reflect a moment on our peculiar situation—a handful of men residing among numerous warlike tribes, liable every moment to be attacked by them, and all cut off; our only hopes of safety was in convincing them of our great superiority over them, and from what we have already seen, we must either attack them or be attacked. I had received many wanton provocations from them; they refused to be on friendly terms with us; they attacked and insulted our friends, for being such; and repeated complaints were made to me on the subject. I had borne with their reproaches, and my moderation was called cowardice. I offered them friendship, and my offers were rejected with insulting scorn. I sent to them messengers, and they were dismissed with blows; hostilities had been commenced by them, and they believed they had obtained an advantage over us. A mere thread connected us with the other tribes; that once broken, our destruction was almost inevitable. They feared us and were our friends; should there be no longer cause for fear, should they no longer believe us invincible, instead of hostilities with the single tribe of Typees, we should, in all probability, have been at war with all on the island. The Happahs considered themselves a conquered

tribe, ready, at the first good opportunity, to shake off the yoke; the Shouemes and some others, if not conquered by our arms, were so by the apprehensions of them. They had been led to believe that no force could resist us, and had they been convinced that the Typees could keep us at bay, they must have felt satisfied that their united forces were capable of destroying us. A coalition would have been fatal to us—it was my duty to prevent it—and I saw no means of succeeding but by reducing the Typees before they could come to an understanding with the other tribes. By placing all on the same footing, I hoped to bring about a general peace, and secure the future tranquillity of the Island.

Wars are not always just, and are rarely free from excesses. However I may regret the harshness with which motives of self-preservation, that operate every where, compelled me to treat these high-spirited and incorrigible people, my conscience acquits me of any injustice; and no excesses were committed, but what the Typees had it in their power to stop by ceasing hostilities. The evils they experienced they brought upon themselves, and the blood of their relations and friends must be on their own heads. Had no opposition been made, none would have been killed—had they wished for peace, it would have been granted; but proud of the honour of being the greatest warriors on the island, they believed themselves invincible, and hoped to insult all others with impunity.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were



also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.— After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men were wounded, and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M·Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M·Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley. It became now necessary to guard against a useless consumption of ammunition, the scouting parties had returned, and some had expended all their cartridges. I exhorted them to be more careful of them, and after having given them a fresh supply, forbid any firing from the main body, unless we should be attacked by great numbers. I now left a party in this place, posted in a house, with the wounded, and another party in ambush behind a wall, and directed Mouina to lead us to the next village. Before marching, I sent a messenger to inform the Typees that we should cease

hostilities when they no longer made resistance, but so long as stones were thrown I should destroy their villages. No notice was taken of this message. We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, soon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees and all the young plants they could find. We had now arrived at the upper end of the valley, about nine miles from the beach, and at the foot of the water-fall above mentioned. The day was advancing; we had yet much to do, and it was necessary to hasten our return to the fort first taken, where we arrived after being about four hours absent, leaving behind us a scene of ruin and desolation. I had hoped that the Typees had now abandoned all further thoughts of resistance; but on my return to the fort I found the parties left there had been annoyed the whole time of my absence; but being sheltered from the stones, and short of ammunition, they had not fired on the enemy. This fort was situated exactly half-way up the valley. To return by the road we descended the hill would have been impossible, it became therefore necessary to go to the beach, where I was informed that the difficulty of ascending the mountains would not be so great. Many were exhausted with fatigue, and began to feel the cravings of hunger, and I ordered a halt, that all might rest and refresh themselves. After resting about half an hour, I directed the Indians to take care of our wounded. We formed the line of march and proceeded down the valley, and in our route destroyed several other villages, at all of which we had some skir-

mishing with the enemy. At one of those places, situated at the foot of a steep hill, they rolled enormous stones down, with a view of crushing us to death, but they did us no injury. The number of villages destroyed amounted to ten, and the plunder carried off by the Indians was very great, for we were too much engaged in fighting to prevent them, if it had been possible to do so. The Typees fought us to the last, and even at first harassed our rear on our return; but parties left in ambush soon put a stop to any further annoyance. We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude and equal strength and ingenuity.

In their fortification consisted the strength of the Typees. The usual fighting place with the other tribes was on the plain near the beach, and although they had frequently been engaged with the forces of several tribes combined, they had never before succeeded in compelling them to retire beyond the river, which, it will be remembered, is about one quarter of a mile from the fort.

There are but three entrances into this valley, one on the west which we descended, one on the east, and one from the beach. No force whatever had before dared to attack them on the west, on account of the impossibility of retreating, in case of a repulse, which they calculated on as certain. The passage on the east led from the valley of their friends, and that from the beach was guarded by fortresses deemed impregnable, and justly so against any force which could be brought against them unassisted



by artillery. On viewing the strength of this place, I could not help felicitating myself on the lucky circumstance which had induced me to attack them by land, for I believed we should have failed in an attempt on this place. I had determined, on first starting, not to return until I had destroyed this fort, and now intended putting my design in execution. To have thrown it down by removing the stones singly would have required more time than we had to spare, and concluding that, by our united efforts, we should be enabled to demolish the whole at once, I directed the Indians and my own men to put their shoulders to the wall, and endeavour, by efforts made at the same instant, to throw it down; but it was built with so much solidity that no impression could be made on it; we therefore left it as a monument to future generations of their skill and industry. This fortification appeared of ancient date, and time alone can destroy it. We succeeded in making a small breach in the wall through which we passed on our route to the beach, a route which was familiar to us, but had now become doubly intricate from the number of trees which had since been cut down and placed across the pathway, as much to impede our advance as to embarrass us in our retreat. We fancied the same had been practised on the bank of the river.

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shouéme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us.

Gattanewa met me on the side of the hill as I was ascending. The old man's heart was full, he could not

speak ; he placed both my hands on his head, rested his forehead on my knees, and after a short pause, raising himself, placed his hands on my breast, exclaimed, Gattane-wa ! and then on his own, said, Opotee, to remind me we had exchanged names.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other ; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses !

I shall not fatigue myself or the reader by a longer account of this expedition. We spent the night with the Happahs, who supplied us most abundantly, and next morning, at daylight, started for Madison's Ville, where we arrived about eight o'clock, after an absence of three nights and two days, during which time we marched upwards of sixty miles, by paths which had never before been trodden but by the natives. Several of my stoutest men were for a long time laid up by sickness occasioned by their excessive fatigue, and one (corporal Mahan of the marines) died two days after his return.

The day of our return was devoted to rest ; a messenger was, however, despatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come on terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation ; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still

insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which, they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

Flags were now sent to me again from all the tribes in the island, even the most remote and inconsiderable, with large presents of hogs and fruit, and we had never at any time since we had been on the island experienced such abundance. It was now the source of regret to me that I was not supplied with salt, that we might be enabled to have cured a quantity of pork for our sea stock, which we might easily have done from the large supply on hand.

Our enclosure, although spacious, was not sufficient to contain the hogs we received. I therefore was under the necessity of sending them on board the different ships in as great numbers as could be kept there. Still, notwithstanding we killed pork on shore for our people every day, the number of hogs increased so fast that it became necessary to turn them out of the enclosure, and let them run, which was done after marking them by cutting off the right ear and slitting the left. I however previously informed the inhabitants of the valley of my intentions, and the mark I had put on them, in order that they might not kill them, which they promised they would not do, but on the contrary, would take care of them, and feed, and fatten them against my return. The number that I in this manner marked and turned loose did not fall short of five hundred, my ships were all full, no more could be taken on board, and a sufficient stock was reserved in the enclosure to supply us as long as we should remain here. I did not regret being overstocked, as it enabled me to leave so many in this valley, which was in some measure a compensation for those we had been supplied with by the inhabitants.

Peace now being established throughout the island, and the utmost harmony reigning, not only between us and the



Indians, but between the tribes ; they mixed with one another about our village in the most friendly manner, and the different chiefs with the priests came daily to visit me. They were all much delighted that a general peace had been brought about, that they might now all visit the different parts of the island in safety ; and many of the oldest men assured me that they had never before been out of the valley in which they were born. They repeatedly expressed their astonishment and admiration that I should have been enabled to effect so much in so short a time, and that I should have been able to extend my influence so far as to give them such complete protection, not only in the valley of Tieuhoy, but among the tribes with which they had been at war from the earliest periods, and had heretofore been considered their natural enemies. I informed them that I should shortly leave them, and should return again at the expiration of a year. I exhorted them to remain at peace with one another, and assured them that if they should be at war on my return, I should punish the tribes most in fault. They all gave me the strongest assurances of a disposition to remain on good terms, not only with me and my people, but with one another. The chiefs, the priests, and the principal persons of the tribes, affected to be very solicitous of forming a relationship with me by an exchange of names with some of my family. Some wished to bear the name of my brother, my son-in-law, my son, my brother-in-law, &c. and when all the male stock were exhausted, they as anxiously solicited the names of the other sex, and as many bore the names of the females of my family as of the males. The name of my son, however, was more desired than any other, and many old men, whose long gray beards rendered their appearance venerable, were known by the name of Pickineenee Opotee. The word pickineenee having by some means been introduced among them by the sailors of the ships which have touched there.

## CHAPTER XV.

### MADISON'S ISLAND—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, CUSTOMS, &c.

HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting of my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury. I directed them not to pull any of the fruit until they had consulted Wilson to know if it was ripe. Among all the seeds sown there was none which gave them so much pleasure as the wheat, which they called *maié*. This is the name they gave the bread-fruit. They would not believe, however, at first that it was from this grain we made our bread (which they also called *maié*, but sometimes potatoe) until I ground some of the grain between two stones, and showed them the flour. This produced from them the most joyous exclamations of *maié! maié! maié!* and all began to clear away spots for sowing the grain, and bringing me leaves and cocoa-nut shells, begging

that I would give them some to take home to plant. When we first arrived at this island, we offered them our ship-bread, but they would not eat it, declaring it was made of coral rocks, and nowise to be compared to bread-fruit. But after we had got our oven to work, and issued fresh bread to the crew, they, particularly the women, became extravagantly fond of it, and there was no favour they would not grant, nor any risk they would not run to obtain a small loaf. They would swim off to the ships, about meal times, in large shoals, and wait there for the sailors to throw them pieces of bread, although the harbour was much infested with large and ravenous sharks, and one of the natives was devoured by them soon after our arrival. A string of beads, highly as they were valued, could be purchased for a loaf; and chiefs, after walking many miles over mountains to bring us presents of fruit and hogs, would return well satisfied, if I gave them a hot roll from the oven.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seeds, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats, and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other



trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as the model of perfection for all the sculptures of the Island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact, every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed toward the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, earrings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country. One of the canoes was more splendid than the others, and was situated nearer the grove. I inquired who the dignified personage might be who was seated in her stern, and was informed that this was the priest who had been killed, not long since, by the Happaes. The stench here was intolerable from the number of offerings which had been made; but, attracted by curiosity, I went to examine the

canoes more minutely, and found the bodies of two of the Typees, whom we had killed, in a bloated state, at the bottom of that of the priest, and many other human carcasses, with the flesh still on them, lying about the canoe. The other canoes, they informed me, belonged to different warriors who had been killed, or died not long since. I asked them why they had placed their effigies in the canoes, and also why they put the bodies of the dead Typees in that of the priest? they told me (as Wilson interpreted) that they were going to heaven, and that it was impossible to get there without canoes. The canoe of the priest being large, he was unable to manage it himself, nor was it right that he should, he being now a god. They had, therefore, placed in it the bodies of the Happahs and Typees, which had been killed since his death, to paddle him to the place of his destination; but he had not been able yet to start, for the want of a full crew, as it would require ten to paddle her, and as yet they had only procured eight. They told me also that the taboo, laid in consequence of his death, would continue until he had started on his voyage, which he would not be able to do until they had killed two more of their enemies, and by this means completed his crew. I inquired if he took any sea stock with him. They told me he did, and pointing to some red hogs in an enclosure, said that they were intended for him, as well as a quantity of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, &c. which would be collected from the trees in the grove. I inquired if he had far to go; they replied, no: and pointing to a small square stone enclosure, informed me that was their heaven, that he was to go there. This place was tabooed, they told me, for every one except their priests.

Gattanewa was present at the time this information was given me by some of the priest's servants or underlings, who had the charge of the place, and resided in houses constructed for them in front of the grove. Sometime previous to this, I had been tabooed at my request, by Gattanewa. This gave me the privilege of visiting and examining all their places of religious worship, and I now took advantage of my right by going into the grove among the gods, accompanied by the attendants on the place. Wilson could not accompany me there, and I was not ena-

bled to make inquiry on many subjects. But I observed that they treated all their gods with little respect, frequently catching them by their large ears, drawing my attention to their wide mouths, their flat noses, and large eyes, and pointing out to me, by signs, all their other deformities. I told Wilson to inform them I thought they treated their gods very disrespectfully. They replied that those were, like themselves, mere attendants on their divinity, as they were on the priest; that I had not yet seen their greatest of all gods, that he was in a small house, which they pointed out, situated at the corner of the grove. On my expressing a desire to see him, after a short consultation among themselves, they brought him out on the branch of the cocoa-nut tree, when I was surprised to find him only a parcel of paper cloth secured to a piece of a spear, about four feet long. It in some measure resembled a child in swaddling clothes, and the part intended to represent the head had a number of strips of cloth hanging from it about a foot in length. I could not help laughing at the ridiculous appearance of the god they worshipped, in which they all joined me with a great deal of good humour, some of them dandling and nursing the god, as a child would her doll. They now asked me if I should like to see some of their religious ceremonies, and on my answering in the affirmative, they seated themselves in a ring, and placed the god, with the cocoa-nut branch under him, on the ground. One of them stood in the circle before the god, and as soon as the others began to sing and clap their hands, he fell to dancing with all his might, cutting a number of antic capers, then picking up the god, and whirling it over his shoulders several times, laid it down again, when a pause ensued. They now began another song, when the dancer, with no less violence than before, after whirling the god about, carried it out of the circle and laid it down on the ground; then shifted it from place to place, and afterwards returned it to the cocoa-nut branch within the circle. After a short pause the dancer asked the singers several questions with great earnestness, and on their all answering in the affirmative, he took up the god on the branch, and deposited it in the house. I inquired of Wilson the purport of the song; he told me they were singing the praises of their god; but



this was all he could tell me. The inquiries of the dancer were, whether this was not the greatest of all gods, whether they were not bound to sacrifice their lives to preserve him, and whether, if they should lose him, there would not be an end of their race. They showed me an abundance of plumes and other ornaments belonging to their divinity, and in front of the house, where he was kept, there was a kind of sedan chair, ornamented with leaves and cloth in the most fanciful manner, which was for the purpose of carrying their god on some ceremony. I endeavoured to ascertain whether they had an idea of a future state of rewards and punishments, and the nature of their heaven. As respects the latter article, they believed it to be an island, somewhere in the sky, abounding with every thing desirable; that those killed in war and carried off by their friends, go there, provided they are furnished with a canoe and provisions; but that those who are carried off by the enemy, never reach it, unless a sufficient number of the enemy can be obtained to paddle his canoe there. For this reason they were so anxious to procure a crew for their priest, who was killed and carried off by the Happahs. They have neither rewards nor punishments in this world, and I could not learn that they expected any in the next. Their religion, however, is like a plaything, an amusement to them; and I very much doubt whether they, at any moment, give it a serious thought. Their priests and jugglers manage those matters for them; what they tell them they believe, and do not put themselves to the trouble of considering whether it is right or wrong. If the priest tells them they shall have rain within a certain period, they believe him; if it does not rain agreeably to his prediction, they think no more of it. They deal greatly in charms and incantations; by them they believe they can procure the death of their enemies, and effect the cure of the most dangerous wounds and sickness. The priests are their principal surgeons and physicians; they lose many of their patients; still the people believe them none the less. They are not fond of trouble, and least of all, the trouble of thinking. They are very credulous, and will as readily believe in one religion as another. I have explained to them the nature of the Christian religion, in a manner to suit their ideas:

they listened with much attention, appeared pleased with the novelty of it, and agreed that our God must be greater than theirs. Had a catholic priest been with me at the moment, he might have made converts of every individual in the valley. It is difficult to obtain a correct idea of their religion. I do not believe that one native in a thousand can explain the nature of it; the priests themselves appear much at a loss. Tawattaa attached himself to Mr. Adams, having learnt that he was our priest. Mr. Adams endeavoured to collect from him some notions of his religion, and among other things inquired of him whether, according to their belief, the body was translated to the other world, or only the spirit. The priest, after a considerable pause, at length replied, that the flesh and bones went to the earth, but that all within went to the sky. From his manner, however, the question seemed greatly to embarrass him, and it appeared as though a new field was opened to his view.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods; to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they rank with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place, or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

When we were at war with the Typees, the Happahs and Tayeehs made a strict search in the houses of the enemy for the skulls of their ancestors, who had been slain in battle, knowing where they were deposited. Many were found, and the possessors seemed rejoiced

that they had recovered from the enemy so inestimable a relic. Dr. Hoffman seeing a man with three or four skulls strung round his waist, asked him for them, and they were given up immediately, although they had belonged to his father, brother, and near relations. Next day several appeared at the village with skulls to traffic for harpoons. A very old man came to the village as a representative from one of the tribes, and wishing to make me a present, but having nothing else to give me, took from his neck a string of bones cut in the form of their gods, and assured me they were the bones of his grandmother.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention. He asked me if the place was not very fine; and it was on this occasion that he tabooed me, in order to give me an opportunity of approaching the gods, and examining them more closely. The whole ceremony of tabooing me consisted in taking a piece of white cloth from the hole through his ear, and tying it around my hat as a band. I wore this badge for several days, and, simple as it was, every one I passed would call out *taboo*, and avoid touching me. I inquired the cause of this ceremony of Gattanewa; he told me he was going to catch tortoise for the gods, and that he should have to pray to them several days and nights for success, during which time he would be tabooed, and dare not enter a house frequented by women.



White among those people is considered sacred. A white flag is an emblem of peace, and a white flag marks out their tabooed and most sacred places. They have also a method of designating the places which are tabooed by bundles of long sticks, about half the size of the wrist, with the bark stripped off and placed on end. These are planted on all the platforms of stones, where women are not permitted to approach, and this practice appears more generally adopted than any other. The sticks employed on such occasions are of a very light and white kind of soft wood, (used by the natives for producing fire by friction,) of the bark of which they make cordage of a handsome and strong quality.

It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do. Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they

will save their hogs for years in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

I gave Gattanewa some hogs of an English breed, and requested him not to kill any until they had become numerous. He told me he would not; that he intended to have a feast for his mother, and that he should not give it until he had an hundred English hogs, when he should kill the whole of them. When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom

of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of the mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

The fish-hooks, made of the mother-of-pearl, are intended chiefly for catching bonetas, and are used in trolling, without bait; they consist of two pieces, one of which is nearly as long as the finger. The mother-of-pearl, which possesses, naturally, a high and beautiful polish, attracts the fish by its glittering appearance, and serves the double purpose of a bait, and as a shank for the hook, to the lower end of which, a piece of bone is secured on the concave side, bending upwards, and inwards towards the shank, and is sharpened at the point, but without any barb. This serves the purpose of a point to the hook, and where this bone is attached to the mother-of-pearl, a few hog's bristles are secured across to give it in towing the appearance of a fish. To the hole, where the bone is attached to the mother-of-pearl, the line is made fast, and passes to the upper part of the piece of shell where it is secured, forming a chord to the arch which it presents. When the fish seizes this bait, and becomes hooked by the point of bone, this cord, by the strain on the line, so secures him to the hook that he rarely disengages himself. The contrivance is ingenious, and has been adopted by all the South Sea Islanders.

The harpoon is nearly straight, when made either of bone or wood; the ends slope off to points in different directions; on one side is a notch cut in to secure it to a pole by means of a slight lashing; the opposite side has a jog for the end of the pole to rest against; in the middle of the harpoon is a hole for the harpoon line to be rove through. When the fish is struck, the staff disengages itself, and the harpoon becomes a toggle, which perfectly secures him. They give the preference, however, to our iron harpoons, which are, in fact, with them, the most valuable form which iron can be put into, as they are much used in striking the sun and devil fish, which frequent the coasts and bays of this island, and although this fish is



very sluggish, and requires little dexterity to take it, there are some who are trained to the business, and pride themselves greatly on their skill. The sons and grandsons of chiefs are those who are most expert in the use of the harpoon. In the bow of each canoe is an elevated place for the harpooner to stand, and when he strikes the fish, he springs with his whole might with the harpoon, and drives it up to the socket. This appears to be an awkward and very improper method of using the iron harpoon. But such was their mode with those made of bone and wood, which required an extraordinary force to drive them into the fish, and when they changed their instruments they continued their old practice. They go out frequently with the young harpooners to exercise them in striking, and generally make choice of a time when the sea is rough, to accustom them to balance themselves in the bow of the canoe, in which consists the chief of their art. The skin of the devil fish is used by them to make heads to their drums. It also, as well as that of the shark, is used for rasps in the working of wood into different forms, which is done by securing slips of it to pieces of wood something in the form of a razor strop.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them, with a shark's tooth, shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short,

sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their head entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island, I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was informed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Fleurien, in his account of the Marquesas, says that the men are in the habit of tying a ligature around the extremity of a certain part of the body, which proves that they are not subject to circumcision. The same is done, as I before observed, at the Island of Ooahoogah, and it is also

the practice here. But notwithstanding this, they are all circumcised, not in the manner of Jews, but by having the foreskin slit ; and the instrument used for this purpose is a shark's tooth. The operation is performed on children by the priests, and on those occasions they have feasts, abundant in proportion to the wealth of the parents. Nor is Mr. Fleurien's opinion, as to the object of those ligatures, more correct. He supposes it to be a refinement of voluptuousness, the only end of which is that of preserving to the part always covered the greater irritability when it ceases to be so. Those ligatures are put on from a refinement in modesty, not of sensuality. The uncovered extremity of this member is the only part which they believe they ought to be ashamed to show, and when this is secured by the aforesaid ligature, every other covering may be laid aside without violating decency. It is rarely worn except when they are in every other respect naked, and then even where most private, and when occupied in fishing, and the greater part of the time in the water, this covering is carefully kept on, and nothing whatever can induce them at such times to dispense with it. Is this depravity ? Is this want of modesty ? or is it not rather holding up an example of decency to civilized man, who, with the most unblushing disregard to shame on such occasions, exposes to view a part which the merest savage assiduously conceals ?

The shark's tooth is also used by the women to scarify themselves, to show the excess of their grief, particularly on the death of a husband. But like those of other parts of the world, on such occasions, their grief (if excessive) is not lasting. I have seen a woman, whose wounds were still unhealed—deep wounds inflicted on her neck, breast, and arms, for the loss of her husband, who had been devoured by a shark. She presented herself at our village, and joined in the general traffic of favours.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretch-



ed with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoos in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing, after being washed, it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

In the manufacturing of whales' teeth into earrings, pearl shells into fish-hooks, and, indeed, in the working of all kind of shells, bone, and ivory, a piece of iron hoop for a saw, and some sand and coral rock, are their only implements. The iron hoop is used with sand, without being notched, in the manner that our stonecutters cut their slabs, and the coral serves to give them a polish. The same tools, with the addition of a *tokay*, which has already been described, are employed in the formation of their spears, war clubs, coffins, cradles, and their various household utensils. Before the introduction of iron, sharks' teeth were used for saws, and a kind of stone adze supplied the place of the iron *tokay*, and, indeed, the attachment for stone tools is now so great, that many prefer them to iron. I have frequently seen them throw aside a hatchet, and make use of a sharp stone to cut down small trees, sharpen stakes, &c.

I inquired of Gattanewa when iron was first introduced on the island. He informed me, that many years after Hail brought them hogs, some people of the same colour as themselves, (but not tattooed,) having long black hair, came in a vessel with two masts, and anchored in a bay called Anahoo, on the other side of the island, and brought with them some nails, which they exchanged for hogs and fruit. The nails were so highly esteemed, and found so useful, that the natives flocked from all parts to have holes

bored through shells and other hard substances, and gave the proprietors of them a hog each for the use of a nail a few hours.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay a great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tabbooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the corpse of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance. This appendage to their dress, I am informed, is common to all the islands of the groups of Marquesas and Washington; indeed we saw several at Rooahoogah.

Mr. Fleurien, in his narrative of the voyage of Captain Marchand, gives the following description of the fans seen by that navigator while at St. Christiana: "Among their ornaments, we may likewise reckon large fans, formed of the fibres of some plaited bark or coarse grass, which they frequently whiten with lime, and which they make use of to cool themselves; and parasols made of large palm leaves, which they adorn with feathers of different sizes and various colours." (Page 156, vol. i.)

This description is badly calculated to give a correct

idea of their neatness, I may say elegance, which is not surpassed by any other work to be found among them. In his description of their stilts, he is very minute and accurate, and equally incorrect in his conjectures as to their use. He supposes them intended for the purpose of fording the streams, which he believes are occasioned by the frequent inundations to which he thinks the island is liable. I can assure Mr. Fleuriën that they are used only for amusement. Can it be supposed, for a moment, that a nation of people who are amphibious, who are one half of their time in the water, who are in the habit of bathing at almost every stream, who are almost destitute of clothing, and perfectly naked from the upper part of the thighs downwards, would fall on so ridiculous an expedient for crossing the insignificant rivulets of an island, whose circumference does not exceed twenty leagues, rivulets which the greater part of the year are nearly dry, and at all times barely afford sufficient water for a ship?

They are used, as I before observed, solely for amusement. They enter into their gymnastic exercises, they run with them, and endeavour to trip one another. They are curiously wrought; and as Mr. Fleuriën wrote his description of those of the island of St. Christiana, with a pair of stilts before him, and as the description answers exactly to those of Nooaheevah, (Madison's Island,) I take the liberty of using the words of that elegant writer.

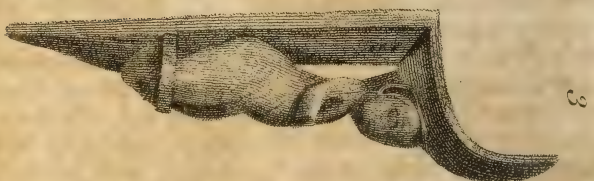
“The care they take to build their houses on stone platforms, which raise them to a certain elevation above the ground, has already indicated that their island must be exposed to inundations; and the use which they make of stilts, confirms this opinion. These stilts, to which the English voyagers appear not to have paid attention, are contrived in a manner which announces that the inundations are not regular, but vary in their height: and, want, which is the parent of industry, has suggested to the inhabitants of St. Christiana a method as simple as it is ingenious, by which this help, that is necessary to them for keeping up a communication with each other in the rainy season, may be employed equally as well in the highest waters, as the lowest. For this purpose each stilt is composed of two pieces: the one, of hard wood, and of a single piece, may be called the step; the other is a pole





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of light wood, more or less long according to the stature of the person who is to make use of it. The step is eleven or twelve inches in length, an inch and a half in thickness ; and its breadth, which is four inches at the top, is reduced to half an inch at the bottom. The hind part is hollowed out like a gutter or scupper, in order to be applied against the pole, as a check or fish is, in sea terms, applied against a mast ; and it is fastened to the pole at the height required by that of the waters, by sennit or lashings of cocoa-nut bass : the upper lashing passes through an oblong hole, pierced in the thickness of the step ; and the lower one embraces, with several turns, the thin part, and confines it against the pole. The projecting part, which I should call the clog, and on which the foot is to rest crosswise, bends upwards as it branches from the pole : this clog is an inch and a half in thickness ; and its shape is nearly that of the prow of a ship, or of a rostrum, or, if the reader please, that of a truncated nautilus. The under part of this sort or shell is slightly striated throughout its whole surface, and the striæ commence from the two sides in order to join in the lower part on the middle, and there form a continued web ; its upper surface is almost flat for receiving the foot, and it is in like manner ornamented with striæ of no great depth, which form regular series of salient angles and of re-entering angles. The clog is supported by the bust of a human figure, in the attitude of a Cariatides, wrought in a grotesque manner, which greatly resembles a support of the Egyptian kind ; it has below it a second figure of the same kind, but smaller, the head of which is placed below the breasts of the larger one ; the hands of the latter are placed flat on the stomach, and its body is terminated by a long sheath, in order to form the lower and pointed part of the step. The arms, as well as the other parts of the body of the two figures, are angularly striated, like the upper face of the clog. The natives of Santa Christiana make a very dexterous use of their stilts, and would, in a race, dispute the palm with our most experienced herds-men in stalking with theirs over the heaths of Bordeaux. The pains taken by the former in ornamenting with sculpture, those which they had invented, may prove that they set on them a great value, for this work, executed on a very hard wood, with the sort of tools which they employ,



must cost them much trouble, and require a very considerable portion of time : besides, they are seen amusing themselves in keeping up the habit of walking with sults ; this exercise enters into their games, and constitutes a part of their gymnastics." (Page 178, vol. i. Marchand's Voyage.)

## CHAPTER XVII.

### MADISON'S ISLAND—ANIMALS—INSECTS—FISH—FRUIT—DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLAND—ARRIVAL AT VALPARAISO.

THE only quadrupeds we found on the island were hogs, rats, cats, and dogs. Cats I did not see, but I was informed they were to be found wild in the woods, where they had retired from the dwellings of the natives. Of dogs I only saw two, and they belonged to Mr. Maury and the people with him. But I was informed there were one or two more on the east side of the island; neither of these animals appeared to be held in any kind of estimation by the natives. The cats appeared familiar to them; and they are much afraid of the dogs, particularly the two large mastiffs belonging to us.

Agreeable to the tradition of Gattanewa, who is, perhaps, the greatest historian among them, cats were first brought to St. Christiana about forty years since by a god called *Hitahita*, and thence some of the breed were brought in canoes to this island. The people in the canoes, which brought the cats, said that *Hitahita* came in a canoe, as large as a small island; they had never seen a vessel of that description before, nor had they ever heard of one. This god they said killed a man, and from that circumstance I am induced to believe that he could have been no other than Captain Cook,\* who anchored at that Island with the *Resolution* in 1773, in the bay which he named after his ship,—but which had before, in 1595, been called by Mendana *La Madre de Dios*.—The day after he anchored, one of the natives endeavoured to carry off one of the gang-way stanchions, and was shot in the act. This circumstance is related in the account of captain Cook's voyage, and the time agreeing so exactly with the traditions of the natives, there cannot be a doubt of his having left the cats, although in this journal no mention is made of his having done so.

It seems very extraordinary that the natives of that

\* Cook was at this time bound to Otaheita, and it is not improbable that the frequent use of the name of that island, among the crew of his ships, the sound of which approaches so near to *Hitahita*, may be the cause of his bearing this name.

island possess no traditionary accounts of Mendana's having been there, for there cannot be a doubt as to the bay where he anchored. Captain Cook, although he has filched from it the name given by the Spaniards, identifies the place with that visited by Mendana; and even if he had not acknowledged it to be the same, the similarity of their descriptions would put it beyond all doubt. He first says, "on the 6th of April we discovered an island, when we were in lat.  $9^{\circ} 20'$ . and long.  $138^{\circ} 14'$ . we were about nine leagues distance from it. We soon discovered another, more extensive than the former, and presently afterwards a third and a fourth. These were the Marquesas, discovered in 1595 by Mendana. After various unsuccessful trials to come to an anchor, we came at last before Mendana's port, and anchored in thirty-four fathoms water, at the entrance of the bay." After which he gives the following description of the bay where he anchored. "The port of Madre de Dios, which was named Resolution Bay, is situated not far from the middle of the west side of St. Christiana, under the highest land in the island. The south point of the bay is a steep rock, terminating in a peaked hill. The north point is not so high, and rises in a more gentle slope. In the bay are two sandy coves; in each of which is a rivulet of excellent water. For wooding and watering, the northern cove is most convenient. We saw here the little cascade mentioned by Quiras, Mendana's pilot; but the village is in the other cove."

I conceive it unnecessary to insert the Spanish description of the bay; it is sufficient to show that Captain Cook felt satisfied that this was the bay of *La Madre de Dios*, so named by Mendana, to convince every one that it was the same. It only seems strange that the natives should have no accounts of his having been there, although the period was also marked by the Spaniards with the blood of their countrymen. Two centuries, however, are to these islanders almost an eternity; and during the time that has elapsed, some circumstance unknown to us may have obliterated their traditions.

The animals of the reptile kind are lizards and centipedes—of the first, from some superstitious notions, the natives are very much afraid, as they are also of their eggs; they are the common small lizard, and perfectly harmless. Of



the centipedes, which are considered by us as poisonous, they appear to be nowise afraid, and small children will amuse themselves with them on chips and sticks, but I never saw any of them handle them.

Cockroaches and flies were very numerous, and the latter very troublesome, as well also as a small kind of gnat, the bite of which often becomes much inflamed, and very sore and painful. They insinuate themselves under the wristbands, inside the collar, behind the ears, under the trowsers, &c. and the pain of their sting can be compared only to splinters on fire thrust into the flesh. But what seems very extraordinary, after being a few weeks on the island, they are no longer troublesome. With the cockroaches we were soon infested on board the ship. They were taken on board in the sails, the wood, and in the seamen's clothing; for every night when they came on shore on liberty, their blankets, and frequently their mattresses, were brought with them, which were generally well stocked by those animals on their return on board.

We found here the common dunghill fowl, in small numbers, which appear to be esteemed only for the plumage of the cocks. Three or four were brought to me as presents by the chiefs of the tribes, but the tail feathers of all had been previously plucked out. Hens, we saw none—either in our valley or that of the Happahs; and although several cocks were seen in the valley of the Typees, no hens were among them. This scarcity of hens seems somewhat unaccountable, and had I not seen some cocks very young, I should be induced to believe, they were brought for traffic from some of the other islands. But it can hardly be supposed that any of those islanders are such adepts in trade as to prevent (with views to their own gain) the breed from getting to Nooaheevah. It seems probable that where there are cocks there are also hens. The hens are, perhaps, disregarded, and permitted to run wild, or are killed and eaten, while the cocks only are preserved for the beauty of the plumage.

The island affords a variety of birds, four of which only I had an opportunity of examining. A dove, which is very abundant, with beautiful green plumage like a parrot. A blue kind of paroquet. A bird resembling a lark, and a

beautiful white bird with black legs and bill, and web-footed, which is seen frequently hovering over and lighting on the trees. This must certainly be an aquatic bird, from its being web-footed, yet I never saw it frequent the water, although it generally kept about the trees, low down in the valley. Nothing can exceed the whiteness and delicacy of the feathers of this bird ; its body is not larger than that of a snipe ; its wings are long, and apparently intended for a great flight ; its head is large, and rather disproportioned to its size, and its eyes are prominent and black.

Fish were not caught in abundance, either by the natives or ourselves ; our constant occupations did not admit of our devoting much time to that object, and their mode of fishing might not have succeeded so well as ours. We saw in the bay vast numbers of albacores, or, as they are sometimes called, (and are so called by the natives,) cavalas, which were in constant pursuit of shoals of small fish, not dissimilar in their appearance to the anchovy. Of this small kind of fish, the boys of the ship caught great numbers with a kind of scoop net, alongside of the frigate. A small red fish, rather longer and thicker than the finger, was frequently brought to me by the natives, and was remarkable for its delicacy. Several other kinds of fish, some resembling a perch in form and size, and some shaped like the pargec, but with variegated colours, were also brought. But I never at any time saw a large fish which had been taken by them except a devil fish. This last-mentioned fish, with sharks and porpoises, frequent the bay : the manner of catching the latter is truly surprising. When a shoal comes in, they get outside of them with their canoes, and forming a semi-circle, by splashing with their paddles, hallooing, and jumping overboard, so alarm the fish, that they push for shoal water, and thence to the beach, where the natives pursue and take them. In this manner whole shoals are caught.

This island, besides the fruit and vegetables already mentioned, produces a fruit somewhat resembling a large bean. While in the pod, and when roasted, its taste is like that of a chesnut ; it grows on a tree of moderate height, but is not abundant.

An apple, in shape, and nearly in colour resembling a red pepper—it is aqueous and cooling, but rather insipid ;

the natives are very fond of it. It contains a hard round stone in the centre, and I could never learn whether it grew on a tree or a vine.

The fruit, formerly mentioned as resembling a walnut, and producing much oil. It appears they were eaten by the Spaniards, and by Captain Marchand's crew at St. Christiana, and were found to be of an excellent flavour. But although they were much relished, they were found to be a pernicious fruit, occasioning all those who had eaten of them, violent retchings, or violent colics, followed by strong purging. It is stated that the natives ate of them without experiencing any of these effects. At Nooaheevah they are never used but for the purpose of ripening bananas, agreeably to the method formerly mentioned, (they possessing a heating quality) except when baked and used as candles. They give a brilliant light, but require a person to attend them constantly, as one will not burn more than two minutes.

Pine-apples of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cultivation, and the castor-oil bean are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship, that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We



would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me ; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance ; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island ; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants. The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully persuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island ; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah ; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other ; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak

the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different countries of England.

The natives of Nooaheevah are more beautiful in their proportions than either. I have had those of the three other places on board my ship, and in point of beauty and intelligence of countenance they bear no comparison. The Sandwich Islander, the Otaheitan, and the New Zealander, had long resided among white men; they had fallen into their vices, and indulged in the same food; they were no longer in a state of nature; they had, like us, become corrupt, and while the honest guileless face of the Nooaheevan shone with benevolence, good nature, and intelligence, the downcast eye and sullen looks of the others marked their inferiority and degeneracy. Guilt, of which, from their intercourse with us, they had become sensible, had already marked their countenances; every emanation of their souls could not be perceived by their features, as by those of the honest naked Nooaheevan. While I am on this subject, it may not be improper to take some notice of the traditions of those people, which may lead to some idea of the manner by which these islands became peopled. Many conjectures on this subject have been started. Some suppose they were peopled from the west, but the general opinion is, that the first inhabitants came from the east, for few are willing to admit that God created the human species (great and distinct as are the varieties) elsewhere than in Paradise. I believe that this island was not inhabited from the commencement of the world, because its general appearance indicates that many centuries have not elapsed since it was thrown out of the ocean by volcanoes. It is not less irregular in its surface, than the islands composing the group of Gallipagos, but it is evidently older, and more covered with verdure, which has consequently produced streams of water, and rendered it more suitable for the residence of man. The same may be said of all the islands composing the groups of Marquesas and Washing-



ton. In touching on this subject, I expect to show, that a considerable degree of confidence should be placed, not only in their historical relations, but in their accounts of islands which have yet remained undiscovered by navigators.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah. The Friendly Islands are about thirty-five degrees to the westward of the Washington group, and this circumstance may, by some, be considered as an insurmountable obstacle to the navigation from the former to the latter, on the supposition that the winds in this part of the world always blow from the eastward. If this was the case, and there were no intermediate islands, the difficulty of getting so far to windward in canoes, however perfect, would be great, and perhaps it would have been altogether impossible to have surmounted them. This, however, is not the case; the winds, sometimes for several days together, blow from the northwest, as well as from the southwest, and remove all difficulties as to the navigation from the leeward to the windward islands. This I myself experienced on leaving the islands, for in three days from the time of my departure, I made nine degrees of longitude easterly, the winds blowing chiefly from N.N.E. to N.W. A continuation of winds equally favourable would have enabled me in twelve days to have navigated from the Friendly to the Washington Islands. But it is not likely that the N.W. or S.W. winds prevail for so long a period at any one time, nor was it necessary Oataia should have made so short a passage. He had many places where he could stop and recruit among the Society Islands and the Archipelago situated to windward, as well as many other islands scattered along his track. They speak the same language, and, in fact, are of the



same nation. On his arrival at one island they could inform him of the existence of another, further to windward: and his adventurous spirit led him on from island to island, until he reached Nooaheevah. Months, nay years, may have appeared to him short, while engaged in this pursuit, naturally proud of the honour of having proceeded farther than any of his countrymen, and the glory of founding a new colony. No doubt he visited those of the whole group in succession, but gave the preference to this on account of its size and beauty. His eldest son was named Po, or night. Opposite this valley, where he established himself, is the island called by the natives *Ooapoo*, or, *there is night*. May not this lead us to conjecture that he here fixed his first born. But still it may be objected, that in such frail machines as the double canoes of the South Sea Islands, it would be impossible to perform so long a navigation as from the Society Islands to Nooaheevah. From the accounts given us by Captain Cook, it appears that the natives of that cluster, are remarkable for their skill in navigation; that they are guided in the day by the sun, and in the night by the stars; and when these are not observed, they have recourse to the points from whence the winds come upon their vessel. But if at such times the winds and waves should shift, they are quite bewildered, and often miss their intended port, and sometimes are heard of no more. It is not probable they are always lost where there are so many islands to afford them shelter; and indeed it may be supposed, that they are capable of keeping a kind of dead reckoning for a few hours, which the first sight of the sun or stars would enable them to correct. Captain Cook made several experiments as to the sailing of their canoes, and found with the breezes, which generally blow in that sea, that they would sail close hauled, on an average seven or eight miles an hour, which must be acknowledged is very good sailing. If this was the case, of which we have no reason to doubt, all difficulties, as to the passage of Oataia from Vavao to Nooaheevah, seem removed; for the canoes of Nooaheevah, although not so perfect as those of some other islands, are capable of keeping the sea for a great length of time.

The cocoa-nut tree, as I before remarked, was said to

have been brought from Ootoopoo, an island which is supposed by the natives to be situated somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena.

None of our navigators have yet discovered an island of that name, so situated. But in examining the chart of *Tupia*, that native of the island of *Ulitea*, who left it with Captain Cook on his first voyage, we find nearly in the place assigned by the natives of *Nooaheevah* to *Ootoopoo*, an island called *Ootoo. Po*, which signifies night, black, or dark, may be an addition of our islanders, or an omission of *Tupia's*. This chart, although not drawn with the accuracy which could be expected from our hydrographers, was nevertheless constructed by Sir Joseph Banks under the direction of *Tupia*, and was of great assistance to Cook and other navigators in discovering the islands he has named. He had himself visited upwards of eighty, of which he gave the names, and among others, he has named the islands composing the Marquesas group, as they are called by the natives. As this was done on the first voyage of Cook, and as they were not known to Europeans before that period, but by the name of saints, which the Spaniards gave them, it could not have been from those he derived his knowledge of them, but from some of the navigators of this great nation. *Tupia*, although the greatest voyager of his nation, does not pretend that he ever was so far to windward. The intercourse between the most distant of those islands does not seem difficult, or even rare, to the natives, although to us it may seem so extraordinary. We are apt to forget that those islands are situated in an ocean seldom troubled by tempests, and from its remarkable serenity, denominated the Pacific. Of the existence of *Ootoo* or *Ootoopoo*, there cannot be a doubt. *Tupia* received such information from the accounts of other navigators, as enabled him to give it a position on his chart near fifty years ago, and the position now ascribed to it by *Gattanewa*, differs little from that of *Tupia*.

Of *Nookuâhe* and *Kappenooa*, which lay four days sail to leeward of Madison's Island, I know not how they obtained their information. But the island of *Pooheka*, they say they have seen, of a clear day, from the heights of Robert's Island, and the smoke from the fires they say are frequently visible. Four days sailing, agreeably to the

rate estimated by Captain Cook, would place *Nookuâhe* and *Kappenooa* about twelve degrees to the west of Madison's Island, and nearly in this spot Tupia has placed an island which he calls *O-Heevapatto*. Captain Marchand, and Captain Ingraham of Boston, (before him,) both discovered strong appearances of land to leeward of them, in the W.S.W. quarter, in their route from the southern to the northern part of Washington Group, and nearly in the place ascribed by the natives to *Pooheka*. That land exists in that quarter, there cannot be a doubt. For two successive days the clouds were arrested in one point of the horizon, and several of the seamen declared they plainly distinguished land. No known navigator has yet traversed that part of the ocean, and except from the information of Tupia and the natives of Nooaheevah, we are ignorant of this portion of the world. Perhaps a group of equal importance to that of which we now treat, may there exist, and I regret that the object of my cruise would not admit of my deviating so far, as to clear up a point so interesting to geography.

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoa-nuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoa-nuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months.

I now found it necessary to restrain the liberty I had heretofore given to my people, and directed that every person should remain on board, and work late and early, to hasten the departure of the ship. But three of my crew, determined to have a parting kiss, swam on shore at night, and were caught on the beach and brought to me. I immediately caused them to be confined in irons, and determined to check any farther disobedience of my orders by the most exemplary punishment. I next morning had them punished at the gangway, and set them to work in chains with my prisoners. This severity excited some discontents and murmurings among the crew, but it effectually prevented a recurrence of this offence.

Nooaheevah had many charms for a sailor; and had part of my crew felt disposed to remain there, I knew they



would not absent themselves until the moment before my departure. This severity had the desired effect ; whatever might have been their disposition, none thought proper to absent themselves except a lazy negro, whom I took on board through charity at Tumbez, and who, from his insignificance, was not missed until after we had sailed. This affair had, however, like to have ended seriously ; my crew did not see the same motives for restraint as myself ; they had long been indulged, and they thought it now hard to be deprived of their usual liberty. They were restless, discontented, and unhappy. The girls lined the beach from morning until night, and every moment importuned me to take the taboos off the men, and laughingly expressed their grief by dipping their fingers into the sea and touching their eyes, so as to let the salt-water trickle down their cheeks. Others would seize a chip, and holding it in the manner of a shark's tooth, declared they would cut themselves to pieces in despair ; some threatened to beat their brains out with a spear of grass, some to drown themselves, and all were determined to inflict on themselves some dreadful punishment, if I did not permit their sweethearts to come on shore. The men did not bear it with so much good humour : their situation, they said, was worse than slavery, and one Robert White declared, on board the *Essex Junior*, that the crew of the *Essex* had come to a resolution not to weigh her anchor, or if they should be compelled to get the ship under way, in three days' time after leaving the port, to hoist their own flag. When this was reported to me it became necessary to notice it, and with such a variety of characters as compose the crew of a ship of war, none but energetic measures will answer. I was willing to let them ease their minds by a little grumbling. It was no more than what I expected, but a threat of this kind was carrying matters rather too far. I called all hands on the larboard side of the quarter-deck, and after stating to them the necessity of getting the ship in readiness for sea with all possible despatch, informed them that was the sole cause of their confinement, which was by no means intended as a punishment to them, as their conduct had not merited any, but to the contrary, had met my entire approbation. I then represented the serious consequences which would be likely

to result, should all hands so far forget their duty to the service, and their respect to my orders, as to follow the example of those who were now under punishment for going on shore without leave. All seemed impressed with a sense of the necessity of strict subordination. I now informed them of the report which had been circulated, and assured them that although I gave no credit to it, should such an event take place, I would without hesitation, put a match to the magazine, and blow them all to eternity. I added, "perhaps there may be some grounds for the report, let me see who are and who are not disposed to obey my orders; you who are inclined to get the ship under way come on the starboard side, and you who are otherwise disposed, remain where you are." All hastened to the starboard side. I now called out White: he advanced, trembling. I informed them this was the man who had circulated a report so injurious to the character of the crew, and indignation was marked on every countenance. An Indian canoe was paddling by the ship; I directed the fellow to get into her, and never let me see his face again. All now returned cheerfully to their duty. The prizes Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period. My orders to him, which were very full, I was under the necessity of destroying at the time of my capture, as well as several parts of my Journal of this period, as it would have been highly improper to have let it fall into the enemy's hands. Should lieutenant Gamble arrive safe, I shall hope to have

it in my power to add them to another edition, and supply the places of the charts and drawings, of which I have been ungenerously deprived by the enemy.

I also gave Mr. King orders to proceed to the United States with the *New Zealander*, and prepared to sail with the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, with a full supply of provisions, leaving an abundance for nine months on board the prizes.

Massachusetts's Bay is one of the finest in the world. It affords safe anchorage, good shelter and landing ; convenient watering places, abundance of refreshments, and a welcome and hospitable reception from the natives. It is easy of egress, and not more difficult of access than would be desirable for defence. Light and baffling winds generally make it necessary that large ships should warp into the harbour. It is every where free from danger ; may be easily defended ; and you may choose your depth of water, from four to thirty fathoms, clean, sandy bottom.

On leaving this place I had no sick on board my ship ; my crew had never appeared at any time in better health. I had as yet met with only one case of the scurvy among them, and this was so extraordinary that I cannot help noticing it. It did not appear until a few days before my departure from the island, and although the man had been employed and slept on shore during the whole of my stay, had the most abundant supply of vegetables and fruit, and had not, during the time, ate one meal of salt provisions, still he was so much afflicted with the disease, that I found it necessary to leave him there with scarcely a hope that he will recover.

This man was about forty years of age, of slender make, and apparently of a lethargic melancholy disposition. He partook of none of the amusements of the rest of the crew, and probably this disposition might have first laid the foundation of a disease which lay lurking in the system, and for the want of a proper stimulus to the mind, at length shot forth with so much vigour.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The *Otaheitan* I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as



his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours ; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow ; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboard undiscovered, and was seen no more.

Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up ; whether he hoped to reach the shore ; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say ; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.

Prior to leaving the bay, I delivered to Mr. Downes the following orders ; and as it was not absolutely necessary that the ships should remain together, I made the best of my way, regardless of the Essex Junior. But the two ships sailed so near alike, that we rarely lost sight of her for more than a few hours, during several days together.

*U. S. frigate Essex, Massachusetts Bay, Madison's Island,  
9th December, 1813.*

SIR,

In case of separation, you will proceed with the ship under your command for the island of Mocha, off which place you will cruise until I join you, which will be as soon as possible. If you should take any prizes it will be well to anchor them there, or at the island of St. Maries, until we meet.

You must endeavour to prevent (by every means in your power) the enemy from gaining intelligence of your being on the coast, as it is my present intention to cruise between Mocha and Valparaiso as long as our provisions will last. Should so long a time elapse without your seeing

me, as to justify the belief of my being lost or taken, you will proceed to Valparaiso to renew your stock of provisions, and if after a reasonable time you gain no intelligence of me, you will please to act agreeably to your own discretion.

While you cruise off Mocha, keep the island bearing about east, distant ten or twelve leagues, and it will be adviseable to look occasionally into the harbour.

With sentiments of respect,

Your obedient servant,

Signed,

D. PORTER.

*Lieutenant John Downes, commanding  
the U. S. armed prize-ship Essex  
Junior, Massachusetts Bay.*

On leaving Madison's Island, I was enabled to pass between Hood's Island and Dominica, and from the prevalence of N. W. winds, I on the 18th found myself in the longitude of 131° west.

I shall not fatigue the reader with an account of the uninteresting passage of a month to the coast of Chili. The first land we made was the island of Mocha, from whence we ran down and anchored at St. Maries, where we filled our water-casks, looked into Concepcion, where we found only one English vessel, and thence proceeded to cruise off Valparaiso.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### EVENTS AT VALPARAISO, PREVIOUS TO THE CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX.

It may be recollected by those who have read the first edition of this Journal, that the narrative ended with my arrival at Valparaiso. The particulars of the capture of the Essex are stated in my official letter to the Secretary of the navy, written on my passage home. That letter refers to circumstances which require some further statements to make them fully understood; and which I had not time to prepare and arrange for the first edition of my Journal. I shall now proceed to give a brief relation of the events which occurred at Valparaiso, previous to my capture; together with the material events of my passage home to the United States.

On the 3d of February I anchored in the bay of Valparaiso, exchanged salutes with the battery, went on shore to pay my respects to the Governor, and the next day received his visit under a salute. The Governor was accompanied by his wife and several of his officers.

The Essex Junior was directed to cruise off the port, to intercept the enemy's merchant vessels, and to apprise me of the appearance of any of his ships of war. In the mean time, every effort was made to get the Essex ready for sea, while my crew were allowed by turns to go ashore on liberty. The attention and hospitality of the people of Valparaiso seemed to increase; and not having had an opportunity to return their civilities on my former visit, I took advantage of the present occasion, to supply the omission. On the evening of the seventh, I invited the officers of the government, their families, and all the other respectable inhabitants, to an entertainment on board the Essex. To give Lt. Downes an opportunity to participate in these gayeties, I directed him to anchor his vessel, but so as to save a full view of the sea.

The dancing continued until midnight; after which Lt. Downes repaired to his vessel, got her under way, and



proceeded to sea. We had not yet taken down the awnings, flags, &c. which we usually employed on these occasions for the decorations of ships of war, nor got clear of the confusion which so large a company naturally occasioned, before the Essex Junior made a signal for two enemy's ships in sight. At this time, one half of my crew were on shore; but, having established a signal for them to repair on board, I caused a gun to be fired, and after directing the ship to be prepared for action, repaired on board the Essex Junior, and went out to reconnoitre. Both vessels had the appearance of frigates. Upon this I directed Lt. Downes to run into port, and take a position where we could mutually defend each other.

On my return to the Essex, at half past seven, one hour and a half only after the enemy came in sight, I found the ship completely prepared for action, and every man on board, and at his post. We had now only to act on the defensive. At eight o'clock the two ships came into the harbour; the frigate, which proved to be the *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyar, ranging up alongside of the Essex, and between her and the Essex Junior, within a few yards of the former. The *Phœbe* was fully prepared for action.

Captain Hillyar very politely inquired after my health; to which inquiry I returned the usual compliment. And here it may be proper to observe, that Captain Hillyar and myself had been acquainted in the Mediterranean. While his family resided at Gibraltar, I was in the habit of visiting them frequently, and had spent many pleasant hours in their company. For Captain Hillyar and his family I entertained the highest respect; and among the American officers generally, no officer of the British navy was so great a favourite as Captain Hillyar. The former paid to his family greater attentions than to any other persons similarly situated; and on the other hand, were always received with the like in return. On one occasion, during the absence of Captain Hillyar, they placed themselves under the protection of Commodore Rodgers, and came in his ship from Malta to Gibraltar; where Mrs. Hillyar joined her husband. But, to proceed with my narrative:

Finding the *Phœbe* was approaching nearer than prudence or a strict neutrality would justify me in permitting, I observed to Captain Hillyar, that my ship was perfectly

prepared for action, but that I should only act on the defensive. He immediately answered, as he leaned over the quarter, in a careless and indifferent manner: "O, Sir, I have no intention of getting on board of you." I told him again, if he did fall on board of me, there would be much bloodshed. He repeated his assurances, with the same *nonchalance*, that such was not his intention. Finding, however, that he luffed up so as to cause his ship to take aback, whereby her jib-boom came across my forecastle, I immediately called all hands to board the enemy, directing them, if the ships' hulls touched, to spring upon the deck of the *Phœbe*. At this moment, not a gun from the *Phœbe* could be brought to bear on either the *Essex* or *Essex Junior*, while her bow was exposed to the raking fire of the one, and her stern to that of the other. Her consort, which proved to be the *Cherub*, of 28 guns, was too far off to leeward, to afford any assistance.

It is quite impossible for me to describe the consternation on board the *Phœbe*, when they saw every officer and man of the *Essex* armed with a cutlass and a brace of pistols, ready to jump on board. They had been informed by the boat of an English ship in Port, that the *Essex* was in great confusion, from the entertainment, and that the greater part of her crew were on shore. On witnessing this unexpected preparation for his reception, Captain Hillyar raised both his hands, and protested with the utmost vehemence, that he had no intention of getting on board of me; that it was altogether an accident that his ship had been taken aback; that he was exceedingly sorry she had been placed in that situation; and that he had no hostile intention in doing so.

The *Phœbe* was at this moment completely at my mercy. I could have destroyed her in fifteen minutes. The temptation was great; and the equivocal appearance of this near approach of the enemy might have justified my attacking him on the plea of self-defence. But I was disarmed by these assurances of Captain Hillyar; and accordingly, hailing lieut. Downes, told him not to commence hostilities without my orders, as it was my intention to allow Captain Hillyar to extricate himself from his disagreeable situation. The *Phœbe* accordingly separated from the *Essex*, drifted by my ships,

constantly exposed to their raking fire ; and after getting clear of them, anchored on the Eastern side of the harbour, within reach of her long eighteen pounders, but beyond the range of my carronades. The Cherub anchored within pistol-shot of my larboard bow, and, upon this, I ordered the Essex Junior to take a position that would place the Cherub between her fire and that of the Essex : an arrangement that gave great umbrage to her commander, Captain Tucker.

On going ashore, there was a general expression of astonishment among the officers of the government, and the people of Valparaiso, at my forbearance in not taking advantage of the opportunity which had thus presented itself for destroying the enemy. My reply was, that I had always respected the neutrality of their port, and should scrupulously continue to do so. Nor, although subsequent events have proved that Captain Hillyar was incapable of a similar forbearance, have I ever regretted, for a single moment, that I permitted him to escape, when, either by accident or design, he had placed himself entirely at my mercy. At no time, during the engagement which took place afterwards, or since, would I have changed situations or feelings with that officer.

Captain Hillyar and Captain Tucker, the day after their arrival, paid me a visit at the house of Mr. Blanco, where I generally staid while on shore. Their visit was soon returned, and a friendly intimacy established, not only between the commanders and myself, but the officers and boats' crews of the respective ships. No one, to have judged from appearances, would have supposed us to have been at war, our conduct towards each other bore so much the appearance of a friendly alliance. At our first interview, I took occasion to tell Captain Hillyar, it was very important that I should know of him, whether he intended to respect the neutrality of the port. He replied, with much emphasis and earnestness : " You have paid so much respect to the neutrality of the port, that I feel myself bound in honour to respect it." I told him, the assurance was sufficient, and that it would place me more at ease, since I should now no longer feel it necessary to be always prepared for action.

In the course of this conversation, I adverted to a flag he



had hoisted, containing the following motto: "God and country; British sailors best rights; traitors offend both;" and asked him the object of it. He said it was in reply to my motto of "free trade and sailors' rights," which gave great offence to the British navy—whenever I hoisted that flag, he should not fail to hoist the other. I told him, my flag was intended solely for the purpose of pleasing ourselves, and not to insult the feelings of others; that his, on the contrary, was considered as highly insulting in the light of an offset against ours; and that, if he continued to hoist it, I should not fail to retort on him. The next day, this flag being hoisted, I displayed one bearing the motto of "God, our country, and Liberty—tyrants offend them." Three cheers followed on the part of the crew of the *Phœbe*, which were returned from my ship. The thing was taken in good part by Captain Hillyar; we talked freely and good humouredly of the object of his coming to that sea; the long hunt he had after me, and of my views in coming to Valparaiso. He asked me what I intended to do with my prizes; when I was going to sea; and various other inquiries were put and answered. I told him, whenever he sent away the *Cherub*, I should go to sea; that it would depend upon him altogether, when I departed; that, having thus met him, I should seek an opportunity of testing the force of the two ships. I added, that the *Essex* being smaller than the *Phœbe*, I did not feel that I should be justified to my country for losing my ship, if I gave him a challenge; but if he would challenge me, and send away the *Cherub*, I would have no hesitation in fighting him.

To these, and similar observations, Captain Hillyar would reply, that the results of naval actions were very uncertain: they depended on many contingencies—and the loss of a mast or a spar, often turned the fate of the day. He observed, that notwithstanding the inferiority of my ship, still, if I could come to close quarters with her carronades, I should no doubt do great execution. On the whole, therefore, he should trust to circumstances to bring us together, as he was not disposed to yield the advantage of a superior force, which would effectually blockade me until other ships arrived, and at all events, prevent my doing any further injury to the commerce of Britain.

As regarded my prizes, I informed him, they were only incumbrances to me, and I should take them to sea, and destroy them, the first opportunity. He told me I dared not do it while he was in sight. I replied, "we shall see."

Finding Captain Hillyar determined to yield none of the advantages of his superior force, and being informed there were other ships bound into the Pacific Ocean, in pursuit of me, I secretly resolved to take every means of provoking him to a contest with his single ship. The Cherub being quite near to the Essex, the respective crews occasionally amused themselves with singing songs, selecting those most appropriate to their situation and feelings. Some of these were of their own composition. The songs from the Cherub were better sung, but those of the Essex were more witty, and more to the point. The national tune of yankee doodle was the vehicle through which the crew of the Essex, in full chorus, conveyed their nautical sarcasms; while "the sweet little cherub that sits up aloft," was generally selected by their rivals. These things were not only tolerated, but encouraged, by the officers, through the whole of the first watch of the calm, delightful nights of Chili; much to the amusement of the people of Valparaiso, and the frequent annoyance of the crew of the Cherub. At length, Captain Hillyar requested me to put a stop to this practice, and I informed him, I certainly should not do so, while the singing continued on board the Cherub.

About this time, one of my prisoners made his escape, by jumping overboard, from the Essex Junior. A boat put off from the Cherub, to pick him up; and notwithstanding every effort on our part, he was carried on board the Cherub. This affair led to the following correspondence between Captain Hillyar and myself, in which the reader will perceive some little asperity, and the first which had showed itself since our meeting. I felt that Captain Hillyar had violated his pledge in permitting the rescue of this man, and could not forbear placing it in its true light. The reason of my not demanding his restoration, must be obvious to all, when it is considered how advantageous such a precedent would be to me, predisposed as the British sailors are, to desert at every opportunity.

*His Britannic Majesty's ship Phæbe, Valparaíso, 9th Feb. 1814*

SIR,

BY an Englishman picked up by one of his majesty's sloop Cherub's boats, in a drowning state, Captain Tucker has been informed, that nine of our countrymen are suffering the miseries of close confinement, on board the American ship of war under your orders; and that the calamity of imprisonment is aggravated by their being kept in irons. As this mode of treatment is so contrary to any I have ever witnessed, during a very long servitude, as well as the usages of honourable warfare, may I beg (if the statement is just,) that you will do me the favour to interest yourself in their behalf.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

*U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaíso, 10th Feb. 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday. The information you have received from the prisoner who made his escape from my armed prize, and who was assisted in effecting it by the boat and crew of his majesty's ship Cherub, is correct as respects the situation of the remaining prisoners of war on board the Essex Junior, as well as those in the Frigate I have the honour to command.

When at the Island of Nooaheevah, my prisoners, while on their parole of honour, made a most diabolical attempt to possess themselves of my prize by means of poison, with a view of making their escape. I detected and secured them; and when I no longer apprehended further danger, I liberated them. Since my arrival here, I have again found it necessary to secure them, and those on board my prize have been confined two days.

I have not perhaps, had as long a servitude as Captain Hillyar; nor was it necessary I should, to learn honour and humanity. I deem it only necessary to say, that, of the many prisoners who have fallen into my hands since hostilities commenced between the United States and Great Britain, none have been confined but for my own security; or otherwise punished but when they deserved it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.



OUR next meeting on shore, after this correspondence, was, however, very cordial. I made a proposition to put all my prisoners on board one of my prizes, without a cargo, and send her to England, with a passport, to secure her from capture; there to take in an equal number of American prisoners, and proceed with them to the United States. Captain Hillyar expressed some doubts of the propriety of this course, and adverted to a similar arrangement with the captain of the sloop of war *Alert*, captured by me, sent to St. John's, Newfoundland, with my prisoners, and thence to the United States, with an equal number of Americans. He wished, if possible, to see the correspondence respecting this arrangement.

In the course of this conversation, he mentioned the stories related to him by the man who made his escape from the *Essex Junior*, respecting my treatment of prisoners. Some of these were of the most extravagant and malicious kind; and if true, rendered me unworthy of my country. They had made an impression on the minds of the British officers, much to my disadvantage, and were calculated to operate greatly to the injury of the American prisoners that might hereafter fall into their hands. I felt it therefore due to my country and countrymen, as well as to my own honour, that the thing should be perfectly explained and understood. I accordingly wrote him the following letter, and received a reply—both of which I shall lay before the reader.

*U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 23d Feb. 1814.*

SIR,

As you have expressed some doubts respecting the correctness of an arrangement proposed by me for the disposal of the prisoners of war on board the ships under my command—and as those doubts were occasioned by a communication made by admiral Duckworth to the Secretary of the navy of the United States, of which you had not a perfect recollection, I have done myself the honour to transmit a copy of a letter from the Department, containing an extract from the aforesaid communication, by which you will be enabled to judge, whether the objections made by the admiral, can be here applied.

I also do myself the honour to send you the copy of a letter from the admiral to myself, as well as several other

communications of a private nature, and beg you to restore the originals, after you have perused and (if you think them of sufficient importance) taken a copy of them. I have been induced to do this, from a wish to remove certain impressions which have been made on the public mind, highly prejudicial to the character of an American officer; and I assure you, although I have endeavoured to perform, and shall continue to do, my duty to my country, to the utmost of my abilities, I disdain a mean and dishonourable act, whatever advantages may result from it. It has been my study to alleviate the miseries of war, and I have been rewarded in most instances, with the basest ingratitude.

British boats, with British subjects on board, daily pass and repass between the shore and the ships under your command, when far beyond the jurisdiction of this port. It has frequently been in my power to cut them off; but I have not done so, under the persuasion that American boats, under similar circumstances, would be permitted by you to pass unmolested. I beg you to inform me, whether my opinion is correct?

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.*

*H. B. <sup>S.</sup>M. ship Phæbe, off Valparaiso, 24th Feb. 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of yesterday, with its enclosures, and I beg you will accept my thanks for the trouble you have taken. The copy of Sir John Duckworth's letter, and the extracts accompanying it, confirm me in my opinion, that the cases are too nearly similar, to justify my acceding to your proposition of sending one of your prizes as a cartel; and the British government would certainly disapprove of the act.

The letters from your prisoners must be highly gratifying to your personal feelings—and I hope the individuals who have benefited by your humane attentions, will feel themselves bound in honour to rescue your character from every unjust and illiberal aspersion.

I certainly could have no objection to American boats passing in the way British do to us, under similar circumstances. They have all the Governor's permission.

I must now appeal to your humanity; repeat to you how anxious I am for the sufferings of my countrymen, at present your prisoners—and express my request, that you will liberate them here, as the only expedient I can think of. If you accede to it, I pledge myself that they shall not be permitted to serve on board any of his majesty's ships, under my orders; and I will write immediately to the British government, that an equal number of Americans may be restored to their country.

I have availed myself of your permission to copy some of the papers, and have taken the names of those who have acknowledged your goodness to them. The liberal minded will always do you justice—and a much higher reward awaits the performance of every Christian duty to an afflicted fellow-creature.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

*David Porter, Esq. &c. &c.*

It will be understood, from the foregoing letters, that the Phœbe and Cherub had gone to cruise, off the port. The circumstance that hastened their going to sea, was as follows: A signal from the Spanish Telegraph, on the hill, announced a sail in the offing. The morning being calm, I ordered the Essex Junior to get under way, and go in pursuit, towing her with the boats of the Essex. After reconnoitering the vessel, which proved to be a store ship of the enemy, the Phœbe and Cherub got under way, and made all sail to cut off the Essex Junior from the harbour, which they were near effecting, but for the timely aid of the Essex's boats, which again brought her safe to her old anchorage.

On the 25th of February, I sent a flag of truce on board the Phœbe, with the following note:

*U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 25th Feb. 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and agreeably to your request and assurances, immediately liberated on parole, the British prisoners who were on board the vessels under my command. Their obligation, as well as a certificate of their liberation, are herewith enclosed.

My feelings have been greatly roused by the scandalous



reports which have been circulated respecting my conduct. Yet I hope I shall always have sufficient control over myself, to prevent any change in my conduct towards those whom the fortune of war may place in my power; for, though such a change might be just, it would not be generous. I fear I have done injury to my country, and my fellow-citizens, by the practice of liberating British subjects who have fallen into my hands, before they were exchanged. But the purity of my intentions was evident to admiral Duckworth, and so long as my country does not disapprove of this mode, I hope I may be the means of averting some of those evils incident to captivity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.*

*H. B. M. ship Phœbe, off Valparaiso, 26th Feb. 1814.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter announcing the liberation of my countrymen, as well as the accompanying obligation and certificate, and shall immediately transmit copies of the letter to the British government. I beg you will do me the honour to accept my sincere thanks for your attention to my request, and remain, with sentiments of respect and consideration, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

*David Porter, Esq. &c. &c.*

ABOUT this time, I thought it adviseable to know the sailing of my ship, and that of the enemy. I therefore chose a favourable opportunity, when the British vessels were to leeward, and unable to cut me off, to get under way, and let them chase me. I soon ascertained that the Essex had greatly the advantage, and consequently believed I could, at almost any time, make my escape from them. I did not like, however, to abandon the hope of bringing the Phœbe to action; and notwithstanding my own impatience to depart, I determined to keep it under control, while I endeavoured to provoke my adversary to combat.

On the afternoon of the day on which the last letter was written, it being calm, and the two British ships far in the offing, I towed one of my prizes, the *Hector*, to sea ; and, when within the reach of their guns, set fire to her, and made my escape from them, notwithstanding every effort on their part, to cut me off. This insult had the desired effect. On the afternoon of the 27th, the *Cherub* was about two or three miles to leeward of the port, and the *Phœbe* was seen standing in for the harbour. At 5 o'clock she hove about, a short distance from me, with her head off shore, shortened sail, fired a gun to windward, and hoisted the flag containing the motto intended as an answer to mine. As every man on board my ship considered this a challenge, I did not hesitate a moment, to accept of it as such. I immediately hoisted my motto, fired a gun, and got under way. The *Phœbe* now stood off shore, and made sail. I followed her—increased sail—and was closing with her very fast, when, to my astonishment, she bore up before the wind, and ran down for her consort. My indignation was roused at this conduct, and I directed two shot to be fired ahead of her, to bring her to ; but she continued on her course. I consequently hauled my wind, and returned into port. When the *Phœbe* had joined her consort, both gave chase to me, and after I had anchored, came gallantly into the harbour together.

I confess I felt exceedingly indignant at this conduct of Captain Hillyar, and so expressed myself on shore, among the inhabitants. Certain of these expressions were communicated to the British residents in Valparaiso, and by them to Captain Hillyar. This state of affairs gave rise to another kind of annoyance. The *Cherub* was now too far off to hear the songs of the *Essex* ; but still feeling sore at some taunts of my crew, on the score of the late challenge, addressed some letters to them, of a very insulting character, which were brought to me. They informed me, they had answered them. I thought this a fair opportunity of rousing Captain Hillyar to offer battle again in earnest. I accordingly wrote the following letter, with this express object.

*U. S. Frigate Essex, Valparaiso, 14th March, 1814.*

SIR,

THE two enclosed papers have been handed to me by my ship's company, and were delivered to one of my

seamen by a British prisoner on parole, as coming from your ship. One of my seamen has also assured me, that the crew of an English ship now in port, have showed him a letter bearing your signature, holding forth encouragement to my people, for deserting the cause in which they are now engaged. The style of the two papers is a sufficient evidence, that they were not written by a common sailor. But, although I have received the most positive assurances respecting the letter, my knowledge of the character of Captain Hillyar, will not permit me to believe him capable of so base an expedient to effect the object of his cruise—notwithstanding the circumstances, and alleged object of the *Phœbe's* flag might induce a suspicion. It appears that my ship's company have made some reply to the first of these papers; and it is highly probable, that it was couched in the ordinary language of sailors. The most insulting epithets have been applied to them, and in the most public manner. I have not therefore thought it proper to restrain that indignation my people have felt, in common with myself, at such proceedings. Their character, as well as my own, has been misunderstood; and if it is believed that we have wished to shake the loyalty of your seamen, I can positively assure you, our intentions have been equally misunderstood. It is not necessary for us to resort to so pitiful an expedient—and were it necessary, I should spurn it. My men are equally prepared with myself, to do our duty: they have given me innumerable proofs of their readiness at all times, to die in support of their country's cause: they have my unlimited confidence—I have theirs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Captain James Hillyar, &c. &c.*

To this letter Captain Hillyar returned a temperate reply, disclaiming in the strongest terms, the conduct I had attributed to him; retorting the charge, of his people being the aggressors in this paper war; charging my men with blasphemy; and finally hinting at various reports he had lately heard to my disadvantage, but which he wished not to believe. Some other letters passed between us; of which both the originals and copies were lost in my cap-



ture. The crews of the hostile ships also continued to carry on the war, in poetry and prose : and some of the poetical effusions of our opponents were so highly meritorious, as to cause a suspicion of their being the production of Captain Hillyar himself.

On the 16th of March, twelve days before my capture, the first lieutenant of the *Phœbe* came on board the *Essex*, under a flag of truce, and stated that he had a message from Captain Hillyar. Presuming it was another challenge, I required the presence of some of my officers, to which he consented. When they were assembled, I asked the purport of his message. He then stated, that Captain Hillyar had been informed, I had said that he acted in a cowardly manner, by running away from the *Essex*, after challenging her, but could not believe the report, and had sent him on board to ascertain the truth. I told him I had said so, and still thought so. He then stated, that Captain Hillyar had entrusted him to tell me, that his firing a gun, and hoisting the flag, was not intended as a challenge, but as a signal to the *Cherub*. I replied, that Captain Hillyar had informed me, the motto of the flag was intended for my ship, and that there was not a man, woman, or child in Valparaiso, that did not think it a challenge. He still repeated, that Captain Hillyar had desired him to assure me, it was not a challenge.

I told him in reply, that I had considered it one, but was bound to believe Captain Hillyar, if he said it was not. I added that, however it might be intended, I should always consider it a challenge, whenever he chose to send away the *Cherub*, and perform a similar manœuvre—and, under that impression, act precisely as I had done before. Again the officer assured me of the mistake ; adding, that Captain Hillyar was a religious man, and did not approve of sending challenges.

I shall now close this part of my narrative, by laying before my readers two certificates, one from the only officer now alive, who was present at the foregoing conversation between Lt. Ingraham and myself. I would appeal to the candour of Lt. Ingraham himself, had he not been killed in the subsequent action.

“On Sunday the 27th February, 1814, at 5 P. M. the *Phœbe* ran close in with the harbour, hoisted an English

ensign, bearing the motto, "God and our country; British sailors' best rights; traitors offend them;" and fired a gun to windward. The sloop of war was about two and a half miles to leeward. The Essex immediately got under way, hoisted a flag bearing the motto, "God, our country, and liberty; tyrants offend them;" and fired a gun to windward. The Phœbe hove to, until the Essex was within gun-shot, when she bore up, and ran down for the sloop. Two shot were fired across her bows, to bring her to, but without effect. After chasing her as far as was prudent, Captain Porter observed, that their conduct was cowardly and dishonourable, and returned into port, where we came to anchor.

(Signed)

John Downes,  
Wm. Odenheim,  
Edward Barnwell,  
Richard K. Hoffman,  
John K. Shaw,  
M. W. Bartowe,  
Alexr. Montgomery,  
Geo. W. Isaacs,  
S. L. Duzenberg.

"ON the 16th of March, 1814, Lt. Ingraham, first of the Phœbe, came on board the Essex, under a flag of truce, having a letter from Commodore Hillyar to Captain Porter. Lt. Ingraham informed Captain Porter, that Commodore Hillyar had heard Captain P. had called him a coward, for running away from the Essex, and begged to know if it was the case. Captain Porter informed him that, considering the circumstance of the challenge, and the conduct of the Phœbe in bearing up, he believed any thing he could have said on the occasion, justifiable. Lt. Ingraham assured Captain Porter, that no challenge was intended, and that the gun was fired by accident. Captain P. said, he supposed it to be a challenge, at the time, and had accepted it; and that he should accept another, if given by the Phœbe; observing, "it cannot be expected that I would take upon myself the responsibility of challenging a 36 gun frigate, with a frigate of 32 guns; as my country would censure me, should I prove unsuccessful; but the

difference of force will not prevent my accepting a challenge given by Captain Hillyar.

The Phœbe and Cherub, ever after, kept close together, and showed a determination of not risking an action, unless they could both engage the Essex."

(Signed)

JOHN DOWNES.

THESE are the most important circumstances which preceded the capture of the Essex, in the bay of Valparaíso; the particulars of which are related in the following letter to the Secretary of the navy :

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PORTER TO THE  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

*Essex Junior, July 3d, 1814, at sea.*

SIR,

I have done myself the honour to address you, repeatedly, since I left the Delaware; but have scarcely a hope that one of my letters has reached you, and therefore, consider it necessary to give you a brief history of my proceedings since that period.

I sailed from the Delaware on the 27th of October, 1812, and repaired, with all diligence, (agreeably to the instructions of Commodore Bainbridge,) to Port Praya, Fernando de Noronho, and Cape Frio, arriving at each place on the day appointed to meet him. On my passage from Port Praya to Fernando de Noronho, I captured his Britannic majesty's packet Nocton—and after taking out about eleven thousand pounds sterling in specie, sent her under command of lieutenant Finch for America. I cruised off Rio de Janeiro, and about Cape Frio, until the 12th January, 1813, hearing frequently of the Commodore by vessels from Bahia. I here captured one schooner with hides and tallow; I sent her into Rio. The Montague, the admiral's ship, being in pursuit of me, my provisions now getting short, and finding it necessary to look out for a supply to enable me to meet the Commodore by the first of April, off St. Helena, I proceeded to the island of St. Catherine's, (the last place of rendezvous on the coast of



Brazil,) as the most likely to supply my wants, and, at the same time, afford me that intelligence necessary to enable me to elude the British ships of war on the coast, and expected there. I here could procure only wood, water, and rum, and a few bags of flour; and hearing of the Commodore's action with the Java, the capture of the Hornet by the Montague, and of a considerable augmentation of the British force on the coast, several being in pursuit of me, I found it necessary to get to sea as soon as possible. I now, agreeably to the Commodore's plan, stretched to the southward, scouring the coast as far as Rio de la Plata. I heard that Buenos Ayres was in a state of starvation, and could not supply our wants; and that the government of Montevideo was very inimical to us. The Commodore's instructions now left it completely discretionary with me what course to pursue, and I determined on following that which had not only met his approbation, but the approbation, of the then secretary of the navy. I accordingly shaped my course for the Pacific; and after suffering greatly from short allowance of provisions, and heavy gales off Cape Horn, (for which my ship and men were ill provided) I arrived at Valparaiso on the 14th of March, 1813. I here took in as much jerked beef, and other provisions, as my ship would conveniently stow, and ran down the coast of Chili and Peru. In this track I fell in with a Peruvian corsair, which had on board twenty-four Americans as prisoners, the crews of two whale ships, which she had taken on the coast of Chili. The Captain informed me that, as allies of Great Britain, they would capture all they should meet with, in expectation of a war between Spain and the United States. I consequently threw all his guns and ammunition into the sea, liberated the Americans, and wrote a respectful letter to the viceroy, explaining the cause of my proceedings, which I delivered to her Captain. I then proceeded for Lima, and recaptured one of the vessels as she was entering the port. From thence I shaped my course for the Gallipagos islands, where I cruised from the 17th April, until the 3d October, 1813. During this time I touched only once on the coast of America, which was for the purpose of procuring a supply of fresh water, as none is to be

found among those islands, which are perhaps the most barren and desolate of any known.

While among this group, I captured the following British ships, employed chiefly in the spermaceti whale fishery, viz :

## LETTERS OF MARQUE.

	<i>tons.</i>	<i>men.</i>	<i>guns.</i>	<i>pierced for</i>
Montezuma, - - -	270	21	2	
Policy, - - -	175	26	10	18
Georgiana. - - -	280	25	6	18
Greenwich, - - -	338	25	10	20
Atlantic, - - -	355	24	8	20
Rose, - - -	220	21	8	20
Hector, - - -	270	25	11	20
Catharine, - - -	270	29	8	18
Seringapatam, - - -	357	31	14	26
Charlton, - - -	274	21	10	18
New Zealander, - - -	259	23	8	18
Sir A. Hammond, - - -	301	31	12	18
<hr/>				
	3369	302	107	

As some of those ships were captured by boats, and others by prizes, my officers and men had several opportunities of showing their gallantry.

The Rose and Charlton were given up to the prisoners : the Hector, Catharine, and Montezuma, I sent to Valparaiso, where they were laid up. The Policy, Georgiana, and New Zealander, I sent for America ; the Greenwich I kept as a store ship, to contain the stores of my other prizes, necessary for us ; and the Atlantic, now called the Essex Junior, I equipped with twenty guns, and gave the command of her to lieutenant Downes.

Lieutenant Downes had convoyed the prizes to Valparaiso, and on his return, brought letters, informing me that a squadron under the command of Commodore James Hillyar, consisting of the frigate Phœbe of thirty-six guns, had sailed on the 6th July for this sea.—The Racoon and Cherub had been seeking me for some time on the coast of Brazil, and on their return from their cruise, joined the

squadron sent in search of me to the Pacific. My ship, as it may be supposed, after being near a year at sea, required some repairs to put her in a state to meet them, which I determined to do, and bring them to action, if I could meet them on nearly equal terms. I proceeded, now, in company with the remainder of my prizes, to the island of Nooaheevah, or *Madison's* island, lying in the *Washington* group, discovered by a Captain Ingraham of Boston. Here I caulked and completely overhauled my ship, made for her a new set of water casks, her old ones being entirely decayed, and took on board from my prizes, provisions and stores for upwards of four months, and sailed for the coast of Chili on the 12th December, 1813. Previous to sailing, I secured the Seringapatam, Greenwich, and Sir Andrew Hammond, under the guns of a battery, which I had erected for their protection. After taking possession of this fine island for the United States, and establishing the most friendly intercourse with the natives, I left them under charge of lieutenant Gamble of the marines, with twenty-one men, with orders to repair to Valparaiso after a certain period.

I arrived on the coast of Chili on the 12th January, 1814; looked into Concepcion and Valparaiso, found at both places only three English vessels, and learned that the squadron which sailed from Rio de Janeiro for that sea had not been heard of since their departure, and were supposed to be lost in endeavouring to double Cape Horn.

I had completely broken up the British navigation in the Pacific; the vessels which had not been captured by me, were laid up, and dared not venture out. I had afforded the most ample protection to our own vessels, which were, on my arrival, very numerous and unprotected.—The valuable whale fishery there, is entirely destroyed, and the actual injury we have done them may be estimated at two and a half millions of dollars, independent of the expenses of the vessels in search of me. They have supplied me amply with sails, cordage, cables, anchors, provisions, medicines, and stores of every description—and the slops on board them have furnished clothing for the seamen. We had, in fact, lived on the enemy since I had been in that sea; every prize having proved a well found store ship for me. I had not yet been under the necessity of draw-



ing bills on the department for any object, and had been enabled to make considerable advances to my officers and crew on account of pay.

For the unexampled time we had kept the sea, my crew had continued remarkably healthy; I had but one case of the scurvy, and had lost only the following men by death, viz :—

John S. Cowan, lieutenant,  
 Robert Miller, surgeon,  
 Levi Holmes, o. seaman,  
 Edward Sweeny, do.  
 Samuel Groce, seaman,  
 James Spafford, gunner's mate,  
 Benjamin Geers, } gr. gunners,  
 John Rodgers, }  
 Andrew Mahan, corporal of marines,  
 Lewis Price, private marine.

I had done all the injury that could be done to the British commerce in the Pacific, and still hoped to signalize my cruise by something more splendid before leaving that sea. I thought it not improbable that Commodore Hillyar might have kept his arrival secret, and believing that he would seek me at Valparaiso, as the most likely place to find me, I determined to cruise about that place, and should I fail of meeting him, hoped to be compensated by the capture of some merchant ships, said to be expected from England.

The *Phœbe*, agreeably to my expectations, came to seek me at Valparaiso, where I was anchored with the *Essex*, my armed prize the *Essex Junior*, under the command of lieutenant Downes, on the look-out off the harbour. But, contrary to the course I thought he would pursue, Commodore Hillyar brought with him the *Cherub* sloop of war, mounting twenty-eight guns, eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, eight twenty-fours, and two long nines on the quarter deck and forecastle, and a complement of a hundred and eighty men. The force of the *Phœbe* is as follows: thirty long eighteen pounders, sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, one howitzer, and six three pounders in the tops, in all fifty-three guns, and a complement of three hundred and twenty men; making a force of eighty-one

guns and five hundred men—in addition to which, they took on board the crew of an English letter of marque lying in port. Both ships had picked crews, and were sent into the Pacific in company with the *Racoon* of twenty-two guns, and a store-ship of twenty guns, for the express purpose of seeking the *Essex*, and were prepared with flags bearing the motto, “God and country; British sailors’ best rights; traitors offend both.” This was intended as a reply to my motto, “*Free trade and sailors’ rights*,” under the erroneous impression that my crew were chiefly Englishmen, or to counteract its effect on their own crews.—The force of the *Essex* was forty-six guns, forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves, and her crew, which had been much reduced by prizes, amounted only to two hundred and fifty-five men. The *Essex Junior*, which was intended chiefly as a store-ship, mounted twenty guns, ten eighteen pound carronades, and ten short sixes, with only sixty men on board. In reply to their motto, I wrote at my mizen—“*God, our Country, and Liberty; tyrants offend them.*”

On getting their provisions on board, they went off the port for the purpose of blockading me, where they cruised for near six weeks; during which time I endeavoured to provoke a challenge, and frequently, but ineffectually, to bring the *Phœbe* alone to action, first with both my ships, and afterwards with my single ship, with both crews on board. I was several times under way, and ascertained that I had greatly the advantage in point of sailing, and once succeeded in closing within gun shot of the *Phœbe*, and commenced a fire on her, when she ran down for the *Cherub*, which was two and a half miles to leeward. This excited some surprise and expressions of indignation, as previous to my getting under way, she hove too off the port, hoisted her motto flag, and fired a gun to windward. Commodore Hillyar seemed determined to avoid a contest with me on nearly equal terms, and from his extreme prudence in keeping both his ships ever after constantly within hail of each other, there were no hopes of any advantages to my country from a longer stay in port. I therefore determined to put to sea the first opportunity which should offer; and I was the more strongly induced to do so, as I had gained certain intelligence that the *Tagus*, rated thirty-

eight, and two other frigates, had sailed for that sea in pursuit of me. I had also reason to expect the arrival of the *Raccoon* from the N. W. coast of America, where she had been sent for the purpose of destroying our fur establishment on the *Columbia*. A rendezvous was appointed for the *Essex Junior*, and every arrangement made for sailing, and I intended to let them chase me off, to give the *Essex Junior* an opportunity of escaping. On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, when I parted my larboard cable and dragged my starboard anchor directly out to sea. Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my top-gallant sails, which were set over single reefed top-sails, and braced up for this purpose. But on rounding the point a heavy squall struck the ship and carried away her main-top-mast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me, and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor within pistol shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible. The enemy continued to approach, showing an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled *Essex* was truly ridiculous, as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three P. M. made his attack, the *Phoebe* placing herself under my stern, and the *Cherub* on my starboard bow. But the *Cherub* soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half



an hour we so disabled both as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall the acting sailing master, assisted by Mr. Linscott the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times—but the fire of the enemy was so excessive, that before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us. My ship had received many injuries, and several men had been killed and wounded—but my brave officers and men, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances under which we were brought to action, and the powerful force opposed to us, were nowise discouraged—all appeared determined to defend their ship to the last extremity, and to die, in preference to a shameful surrender. Our gaff, with the ensign and motto flag at the mizzen, had been shot away—but FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS continued to fly at the fore.—Our ensign was replaced by another—and to guard against a similar event, an ensign was made fast in the mizzen rigging, and several jacks were hoisted in different parts of the ship. The enemy soon repaired his damages for a fresh attack; he now placed himself, with both his ships, on my starboard quarter, out of the reach of my carronades, and where my stern guns could not be brought to bear; he there kept up a most galling fire, which it was out of my power to return, when I saw no prospect of injuring him without getting under way and becoming the assailant. My top-sail sheets and halliards were all shot away, as well as the jib and fore-top-mast-stay-sail-halliards. The only rope not cut was the flying-jib-halliards; and that being the only sail I could set, I caused it to be hoisted, my cable to be cut, and ran down on both ships, with an intention of laying the Phœbe on board. The firing on both sides was now tremendous; I had let fall my fore-top-sail and fore-sail, but the want of tacks and sheets had rendered them almost useless to us. Yet we were enabled, for a short time to close with the enemy; and although our decks were now strewed with dead, and our cock-pit filled with wounded, although our ship had been several times on fire, and was rendered a perfect wreck, we were still encouraged to hope to save her, from the circumstance of the Cherub. being compelled to haul off.

She did not return to close action again, although she apparently had it in her power to do so, but kept up a distant firing with her long guns.—The *Phœbe*, from our disabled state, was enabled, however, by edging off, to choose the distance which best suited her long guns, and kept up a tremendous fire on us, which mowed down my brave companions by the dozen. Many of my guns had been rendered useless by the enemy's shot, and many of them had their whole crews destroyed. We manned them again from those which were disabled, and one gun in particular was three times manned—fifteen men were slain at it in the action. But, strange as it may appear, the Captain of it escaped with only a slight wound.—Finding that the enemy had it in his power to choose his distance, I now gave up all hopes of closing with him, and as the wind, for the moment, seemed to favour the design, I determined to endeavour to run her on shore, land my men and destroy her. Every thing seemed to favour my wishes. We had approached the shore within musket shot, and I had no doubt of succeeding, when, in an instant, the wind shifted from the land (as is very common in this port in the latter part of the day) and payed our head down on the *Phœbe*, where we were again exposed to a dreadful raking fire. My ship was now totally unmanageable; yet, as her head was toward the enemy, and he to leeward of me, I still hoped to be able to board him. At this moment lieutenant commandant Downes came on board to receive my orders, under the impression that I should soon be a prisoner. He could be of no use to me in the then wretched state of the *Essex*; and finding (from the enemy's putting his helm up) that my last attempt at boarding would not succeed, I directed him, after he had been about ten minutes on board, to return to his own ship, to be prepared for defending and destroying her in case of an attack. He took with him several of my wounded, leaving three of his boats crew on board to make room for them. The slaughter on board my ship had now become horrible, the enemy continuing to rake us, and we unable to bring a gun to bear. I therefore directed a hawser to be bent to the sheet anchor, and the anchor to be cut from the bows to bring her head round: this succeeded. We again got our broadside to bear, and as the enemy was much crippled and unable to







Engraved by W. Strickland.

*The Victory.*

Drawn by Capt. Lortie.

hold his own, I have no doubt he would soon have drifted out of gun shot before he discovered we had anchored, had not the hawser unfortunately parted. My ship had taken fire several times during the action, but alarmingly so forward and aft; at this moment, the flames were bursting up each hatchway, and no hopes were entertained of saving her; our distance from the shore did not exceed three-quarters of a mile, and I hoped many of my brave crew would be able to save themselves, should the ship blow up, as I was informed the fire was near the magazine, and the explosion of a large quantity of powder below served to increase the horrors of our situation—our boats were destroyed by the enemy's shot; I, therefore, directed those who could swim to jump overboard, and endeavour to gain the shore. Some reached it—some were taken by the enemy, and some perished in the attempt; but most preferred sharing with me the fate of the ship. We, who remained, now turned our attention wholly to extinguishing the flames; and when we had succeeded, went again to our guns, where the firing was kept up for some minutes, but the crew had by this time become so weakened, that they all declared to me the impossibility of making further resistance, and entreated me to surrender my ship to save the wounded, as all further attempt at opposition must prove ineffectual, almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews. I now sent for the officers of divisions to consult them; but what was my surprise to find only acting lieutenant Stephen Decatur M'Knight remaining, who confirmed the report respecting the condition of the guns on the gun-deck—those on the spar deck were not in a better state. Lieutenant Wilmer, after fighting most gallantly throughout the action, had been knocked overboard by a splinter while getting the sheet anchor from the bows, and was drowned. Acting lieutenant John G. Cowell, had lost a leg; Mr. Edward Barnewall, acting sailing master, had been carried below, after receiving two wounds, one in the breast and one in the face; and acting lieutenant William H. Odenheimer, had been knocked overboard from the quarter an instant before, and did not regain the ship until after the surrender. I was informed that the cock-pit, the steerage, the ward-room and the birth-deck, could contain no more wounded; that the

wounded were killed while the surgeons were dressing them, and that, unless something was speedily done to prevent it, the ship would soon sink from the number of shot holes in her bottom. And; on sending for the carpenter, he informed me that all his crew had been killed or wounded, and that he had been once over the side to stop the leaks, when his slings had been shot away, and it was with difficulty he was saved from drowning. The enemy, from the smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of our reaching him with our carronades, and the little apprehension that was excited by our fire, which had now become much slackened, was enabled to take aim at us as at a target; his shot never missed our hull, and my ship was cut up in a manner which was, perhaps, never before witnessed—in fine; I saw no hopes of saving her, and at twenty minutes after six P. M. gave the painful order to strike the colours. Seventy-five men, including officers were all that remained of my whole crew, after the action, capable of doing duty, and many of them severely wounded, some of whom have since died. *The enemy still continued his fire, and my brave, though unfortunate companions, were still falling about me. I directed an opposite gun to be fired, to show them we intended no further resistance; but they did not desist; four men were killed at my side, and others in different parts of the ship. I now believed he intended to show us no quarter, and that it would be as well to die with my flag flying as struck, and was on the point of again hoisting it, when about ten minutes after hauling the colours down he ceased firing!*

I cannot speak in sufficiently high terms of the conduct of those engaged for such an unparalleled length of time (under such circumstances) with me in the arduous and unequal contest—Let it suffice to say, that more bravery, skill, patriotism, and zeal, were never displayed on any occasion. Every one seemed determined to die in defence of their much loved country's cause, and nothing but views to humanity could ever have reconciled them to the surrender of the ship; they remembered their wounded and helpless shipmates below. To acting lieutenants M'Knight and Odenheimer I feel much indebted for their great exertions and bravery throughout the action, in fighting and encouraging the men at their divisions, for the



dexterous management of the long guns, and for their promptness in re-manning their guns as their crews were slaughtered. The conduct of that brave and heroic officer, acting lieutenant John G. Cowel, who lost his leg in the latter part of the action, excited the admiration of everyman in the ship, and after being wounded, would not consent to be taken below, until loss of blood rendered him insensible. Mr. Edward Barnewall acting sailing-master, whose activity and courage were equally conspicuous, returned on deck after his first wound, and remained after receiving his second until fainting with loss of blood.—Mr. Samuel B. Johnson, who had joined me the day before, and acted as marine officer, conducted himself with great bravery, and exerted himself in assisting at the long guns; the musketry after the first half hour being useless, from our great distance.

Mr. M. W. Bostwick, whom I had appointed acting purser of the Essex Junior, and who was on board my ship, did the duties of aid, in a manner which reflects on him the highest honour, and midshipmen Isaacs, Farragut, and Ogden, as well as acting midshipmen James Terry, James R. Lyman, and Samuel Duzenbury, and master's mate William Pierce, exerted themselves in the performance of their respective duties, and gave an earnest of their value to the service; the three first are too young to recommend for promotion.—The latter I beg leave to recommend for confirmation, as well as the acting lieutenants, and Messrs. Barnewall, Johnson, and Bostwick.

We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced—the defence of the Essex has not been less honourable to her officers and crew, than the capture of an equal force; and I now consider my situation less unpleasant than that of Commodore Hillyar, who, in violation of every principle of honour and generosity, and regardless of the rights of nations, attacked the Essex in her crippled state, within pistol shot of a neutral shore—when, for six weeks, I had daily offered him fair and honourable combat, on terms greatly to his advantage. The blood of the slain must be on his head, and he has yet to reconcile his conduct to heaven, to his conscience, and to the world.—The annexed extract of a letter from Commodore Hillyar, which

was written previously to his returning me my sword, will show his opinion of our conduct.

My loss has been dreadfully severe, fifty-eight killed, or have since died of their wounds, and among them lieutenant Cowell; thirty-nine were severely wounded, twenty-seven slightly, and thirty-one are missing—making in all one hundred and fifty-four, killed, wounded, and missing, a list of whose names is annexed.

The professional knowledge of Dr. Richard Hoffman, acting surgeon, and Dr. Alexander Montgomery, acting surgeon's mate, added to the assiduity and the benevolent attentions and assistance of Mr. D. P. Adams, the chaplain, saved the lives of many of the wounded—those gentlemen have been indefatigable in their attentions to them; the two first I beg leave to recommend for confirmation, and the latter to the notice of the department.

I must, in justification of myself, observe, that with our six twelve pounders only we fought this action, our carronades being almost useless.

The loss in killed and wounded has been great with the enemy; among the former is the first lieutenant of the *Phœbe*, and of the latter, Captain Tucker of the *Cherub*, whose wounds are severe. Both the *Essex* and *Phœbe* were in a sinking state, and it was with difficulty they could be kept afloat until they anchored in Valparaiso next morning. The shattered state of the *Essex* will, I believe, prevent her ever reaching England, and I also think it will be out of their power to repair the damages of the *Phœbe*, so as to enable her to double Cape Horn. All the masts and yards of the *Phœbe* and *Cherub* are badly crippled, and their hulls much cut up; the former had eighteen twelve pound shot through her below her water line, some three feet under water. Nothing but the smoothness of the water saved both the *Phœbe* and *Essex*.

I hope, sir, that our conduct may prove satisfactory to our country, and that it will testify it by obtaining our speedy exchange, that we may again have it in our power to prove our zeal.

Commodore Hillyar (I am informed) has thought proper to state to his government that the action only lasted forty-five minutes; should he have done so, the motive may be easily discovered—but the thousands of disinterested

witnesses, who covered the surrounding hills, can testify that we fought his ships near two hours and a half; upwards of fifty broadsides were fired by the enemy, agreeably to their own accounts, and upwards of seventy-five by ours: except the few minutes they were repairing damages, the firing was incessant.

Soon after my capture, I entered into an agreement with Commodore Hillyar to disarm my prize, the *Essex Junior*, and proceed with the survivors of my officers and crew to the United States, taking with me her officers and crew. He consented to grant her a passport to secure her from recapture. The ship was small, and we knew we had much to suffer, yet we hoped soon to reach our country in safety, that we might again have it in our power to serve it. This arrangement was attended with no additional expense, as she was abundantly supplied with provisions and stores for the voyage.

In justice to Commodore Hillyar, I must observe, that (although I can never be reconciled to the manner of his attack on the *Essex*, or to his conduct before the action,) he has, since our capture, shown the greatest humanity to my wounded, (whom he permitted me to land, on condition that the United States should bear their expenses,) and has endeavoured as much as lay in his power, to alleviate the distresses of war, by the most generous and delicate deportment towards myself, my officers, and crew. He gave orders that the property of every person should be respected; which orders, however, were not so strictly attended to as might have been expected; besides being deprived of books, charts, &c. &c. both myself and officers lost many articles of our clothing, some to a considerable amount. I should not have considered this last circumstance of sufficient importance to notice, did it not mark a striking difference between the navy of Great-Britain, and that of the United States, highly creditable to the latter.

By the arrival of the *Tagus* a few days after my capture, I was informed, that besides the ships which had arrived in the Pacific in pursuit of me, and those still expected, others were sent to cruize for me in the China seas, off New Zealand, Timor, and New Holland, and that another frigate was sent to the river La Plata.

To possess the *Essex*, it has cost the British government near six millions of dollars, and yet, sir, her capture was



owing entirely to accident; and if we consider the expedition with which naval contests are now decided, the action is a dishonour to them. Had they brought their ships boldly into action with a force so very superior, and having the choice of position, they should either have captured or destroyed us in one-fourth of the time they were about it.

During the action, our consul general, Mr. Poinsett, called on the governor of Valparaiso, and requested that the batteries might protect the Essex. This request was refused, but he promised that if she should succeed in fighting her way to the common anchorage, he would send an officer to the British commander, and request him to cease firing, but declined using force under any circumstances; and there is no doubt a perfect understanding existed between them. This conduct, added to the assistance given to the British, and their friendly reception after the action, and the strong bias of the faction which govern Chili in favour of the English, as well as their hostility to the Americans, induced Mr. Poinsett to leave that country. Under such circumstances, I did not conceive it would be proper for me to claim the restoration of my ship, confident that the claim would be made by my government to more effect. Finding some difficulty in the sale of my prizes, I had taken the Hector and Catharine to sea, and burnt them with their cargoes.

I exchanged lieutenant M'Knight,\* Mr. Adams, and Mr. Lyman, and eleven seamen, for a part of the crew of the Sir Andrew Hammond, and sailed from Valparaiso on the 27th April, where the enemy were still patching up their ships to put them in a state for proceeding to Rio de Janeiro, previous to going to England.

Annexed is a list of the remains of my crew to be exchanged, as also a copy of the correspondence between Commodore Hillyar and myself, on that subject. I also send you a list of the prisoners I have taken during my cruise, amounting to three hundred and forty-three.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D. PORTER.

*The honourable Secretary of the Navy  
of the U. S. Washington.*

\* For an account of the mysterious fate of Lieutenants M'Knight and Lyman, see Appendix.

P. S. To give you a correct idea of the state of the Essex at the time of her surrender, I send you the boatswain's and carpenter's report of damages; I also send you a report of the divisions.

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It will be perceived by the foregoing narrative, that every means was resorted to on my part, to provoke the enemy to offer battle with his single ship, but without effect. For this I do not blame Captain Hillyar, since the interests of his country ought to have been, and undoubtedly were, paramount to every other consideration, on this occasion. The reader, however, will judge for himself, whether Captain Hillyar's attack on the Essex, then in a crippled state, and within the limits of a neutrality, which he had pledged himself to respect, was, setting aside the question of legality, either brave or magnanimous.

It was my intention to have explained the alteration in the conduct of the Chilian government towards myself, evinced in denying me a right to the protection accorded me by the laws of nations. But this would swell my narrative beyond the limits I had prescribed myself. The explanation may be found in those changes which have been so common in that country, torn by different factions, and in the meanness of that spirit, which takes part ever with the strongest. When I commanded the most powerful force in the Pacific, all were willing to serve me: but when Captain Hillyar appeared, with one still stronger, it became the great object to conciliate his friendship, by evincing hostility to me. It will be recollected, by those conversant with the history of the Chilian Revolution, that my particular friends the Carreras, were stripped of power, and thrown into prison, the government of Chili being usurped by their most inveterate enemies. Added to all this, Captain Hillyar was acting in the character of mediator between the viceroy of Peru, and the officers of the Chilian government; in which capacity, he at length caused the country to be delivered up to the royal troops, under a promise of a general and free pardon to those then in possession of power. For this service, Captain Hillyar was made an Hidalgo, and honoured with a con-

spicuous place in a religious procession, commemorative of the occasion, where he wore the habit of a friar, and bore in his hand a waxen candle.

Soon after the capture of the *Essex*, I was sent on board the *Phæbe*, by the officer who took possession of the *Essex*. I had no cause to complain of my treatment while there. Captain Hillyar's conduct was delicate and respectful. The instant of anchoring in Valparaiso, I was allowed to go on shore on parole, and the same privilege granted to my officers, as well as those of my crew who were wounded. The rest were placed under guard, on board a Spanish merchant ship, hired by Captain Hillyar for that purpose.

Under present circumstances, I could not expect any civilities from those in authority at Valparaiso. But the neglect of the governor and his officers was fully compensated by the kind attentions of the good citizens. When my wounded companions were brought on shore, they were borne to the place selected by me for a hospital, by the kind Chilians. The ladies of Valparaiso took upon themselves the task of providing for their necessities, and administering to the alleviation of their sufferings. At all times, women of the most respectable appearance attended at the hospital, who tendered their services gratuitously, to take care of the wounded. Without their aid, I have no doubt, many would have died, who now live to thank them. For myself, I shall never forget their gentle humanity; and if it should not be in my power to return it, I bequeath the remembrance as a legacy of gratitude to be repaid by my country.

After providing every thing in my power for the comfort of my wounded companions, I made a visit to the capital of Chili. I shall pass over the events of this journey, and hasten to a conclusion. On referring to the correspondence between myself and Captain Hillyar, in the appendix, it will be seen there was an arrangement made, for disarming the *Essex Junior*, and converting her into a cartel; which I considered highly advantageous, as it ensured the safety of a prize. This case was similar to that of the *Alert*, to which Captain Hillyar had objected, on a former occasion. His motives for acceding to such an arrangement at this time, were probably founded in



some apprehensions with respect to my crew, and the probable danger of trusting them on board of the *Phœbe*, which carried a large quantity of specie on freight to England.

The remainder of my brave crew were accordingly embarked in the *Essex Junior*; and on taking leave of Captain Hillyar, after acknowledging his attentions, I seized the opportunity to tell him, that though I should take every occasion to do him free justice in that respect, I should nevertheless be equally plain in making known his conduct in attacking me in the manner he had done. The tears came into his eyes, and, grasping my hand, he replied, "My dear Porter, you know not the responsibility that hung over me, with respect to your ship. Perhaps my life depended on my taking her." I asked no explanation at that time, and he gave none. He still has it in his power, however, to clear up the affair to the world; and if he can show that the responsibility rests on his government, I shall do him justice, with more pleasure than I now impeach his conduct. Until then, the stigma rests on him.

On leaving Valparaiso, every effort was made to reach home in time to fit out ships to proceed to the British channel, for the purpose of intercepting the *Phœbe* and her prize; and, favoured by the wind, of which we took every advantage, we arrived off Sandy Hook, in seventy-three days. Here we fell in with the *Saturn*, a British ship of war, commanded by Captain Nash, who treated me, in the first instance, with great civility; examined the papers of the *Essex Junior*; furnished me with late newspapers; and sent me some oranges—at the same time making offers of his services. The boarding officer endorsed my passport, and permitted the ship to proceed. She stood on in the same tack with the *Saturn*; and about two hours afterwards, was again brought to—the papers examined, and the ship's hold overhauled by a boat's crew and officer. I expressed my astonishment at such proceedings; and was informed that Captain Nash had his motives. It was added, that Captain Hillyar had no authority to make such arrangements; that the passport must go on board the *Saturn* again, and the *Essex Junior* be detained. I insisted, that the smallest detention would be

a violation of the contract on the part of the British, and declared I should consider myself a prisoner to Captain Nash, and no longer on my parole. I then offered my sword; assuring the officer, I delivered it with the same feelings I surrendered it to Captain Hillyar. He declined receiving it; went on board the Saturn; and returned with the information, that Captain Nash directed the Essex Junior to remain all night under the lee of the Saturn. I then said—I am your prisoner; I do not consider myself any longer bound by my contract with Captain Hillyar, which has thus been violated, and shall act accordingly.

At 7 the next morning, the wind being light from the southward, and the ships about thirty or forty miles off the eastern part of Long Island, within about musket shot of each other, I determined to attempt my escape. There appeared no disposition on the part of the enemy to liberate the Essex Junior, and I felt myself justified in this measure. A boat was accordingly lowered down, manned and armed; and I left with lieut. Downes the following message for Capt. Nash: "that Captain Porter was now satisfied, that most British officers were not only destitute of honour, but regardless of the honour of each other; that he was armed, and prepared to defend himself against his boats, if sent in pursuit of him; and that he must be met, if met at all, as an enemy." I now pulled off from the ship, keeping the Essex Junior in a direct line between my boat and the Saturn, and got nearly gun shot from her before they discovered me. At that instant, a fresh breeze sprang up, and the Saturn made all sail after us. Fortunately, however, a thick fog came on, upon which I changed my course, and entirely eluded further pursuit. During the fog, I heard a firing; and on its clearing up, saw the Saturn in chase of the Essex Junior; which vessel was soon brought to. After rowing and sailing about sixty miles, I at last succeeded, with much difficulty and hazard, in reaching the town of Babylon, on Long Island, where, being strongly suspected of being a British officer, I was closely interrogated; and, my story appearing rather extraordinary, was not credited. But on showing my commission, all doubts were removed, and from that moment, all united in affording me the most liberal hospitality.

On my arrival by land at New-York, the reception

given me by the inhabitants, as well as by those of every other place through which I passed, it becomes not me to record. It is sufficient to say, it has made an impression on my mind, never to be effaced.

The Essex Junior, after being detained the whole of the day following my escape, and ransacked for money; her crew mustered on deck, under pretence of detecting deserters; her officers insulted, and treated with shameful outrage; was at length dismissed, and arrived next day at New-York, where she was condemned and sold. In the language I used at that time and subsequently, with regard to the character and conduct of British naval officers, some persons have found great cause of offence. For my full justification, I rest on the foregoing narrative, with the documents by which it is supported. Years have passed away since I first made these assertions; but they have brought with them no experience but what confirms my first impressions.

My escape from unjustifiable detention by the captain of the Saturn, was asserted to be a breach of parole; and I have the most undeniable evidence, that admiral Cochrane mustered the officers of his fleet, on his quarter deck, declaring to them, that I was out of the pale of honour, and must be treated accordingly. The correspondence between the agents of the two governments, in the Appendix to this volume, will show, by admiral Cochrane's own distinct admission, that his government, on being made fully acquainted with the circumstances, declared me "discharged from my parole, and as free to serve in any capacity, as if I had never been made prisoner." Yet, notwithstanding all this, care has been taken to keep up the impression, that I remain still under this imputation of a breach of parole, by withholding, on all occasions, the public recantation of a charge publicly made, and—unanswerably refuted.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### TRANSACTIONS AT NOOAHEEVAH, AFTER CAPTAIN PORTER'S DEPARTURE: COMPILED FROM THE JOURNAL OF LT. GAMBLE.

HAVING thus continued the particulars of my cruise down to the arrival of the *Essex Junior* at New-York, it is now time to turn the attention of my readers to the prize ships left at Madison's Island, under the command of lieutenant (now Captain) Gamble, of the *Marines*, on the 13th of December, 1813; and to the events which occurred subsequently to that date. These were the *Greenwich*, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, and *Seringapatam*,\* and their crews amounted, in the aggregate, to three officers, and twenty men, exclusive of six prisoners of war. Lieut. Gamble was instructed to remain at the Island five and a half calendar months, and at the expiration thereof, in case he did not see or hear from me sooner, to repair to the port of Valparaiso on the Main. On arriving at Valparaiso, if he did not find the *Essex*, or instructions from me relative to the ships, he was authorized to dispose of the three prizes then laying at that port, remove their crews to those under his command, and repair to the United States.

For several days subsequently to the departure of the *Essex*, lieut. Gamble employed his men in completing the cargo of the *New Zealander* with oil from the other ships, in order that she might depart for the United States, at an early day. On the 15th, the weather being pleasant, and the wind fresh, the natives set fire to the dry grass in the valley, near the encampment, contrary to the injunctions of lieut. Gamble. He however, alarmed them considerably, by shooting over the heads of several, in the afternoon, as they were carrying torches near the houses, and setting fire to the grass. On the 16th, the wind blowing fresh from the N. E. the *Sir Andrew Hammond* parted her lower cable in a severe squall, and they were under the necessity of waiting for a land breeze, or a calm, in order to moor her effectually and safely. Six men on board the *New Zealander* were

\* There was another—the *New Zealander*; but she departed for the United States, in a few days.

this day found sick; several with a severe attack of the dysentery, and others with pain in the head and joints. The next day the wind continued fresh, and the squalls, at intervals, more severe. At the close of the afternoon, two of the ships parted their halsers, and caused considerable trouble before they could again be secured. One of the white men, who was left on the island to trade with the natives, called upon lieut. Gamble, saying that he laboured under a violent attack of the dysentery, with the usual pain in the head and joints. He was immediately given a powerful emetic, and directed to take a dose of rhubarb as soon as it began to operate. This completely restored him to health in a few days. The squalls continued on the 18th, accompanied with frequent showers of rain. In the morning, Isaac Coffin, who deserted from the *Essex*, the day previous to her sailing, was brought down to the encampment from the valley, by one of the traders, who had been sent in quest of him, and confined in irons on board one of the ships. The *Typees* and *Happahs* made frequent inquiries of the traders, relative to the force under the command of lieut. Gamble, and were told that it amounted to one hundred men. Had they been aware of the fact, however, that the Americans could not muster even thirty men altogether, and that a number of them were in ill health, there can be no doubt, as subsequent events will show, that they would have attacked them at once in their canoes. The *Havvough* tribe still manifested a great degree of friendship and good order.

The rain ceased on the 20th, and the weather became quite clear and sultry. Lieut. Gamble was informed, that during the latter part of December, and the months of January and February, they have here frequent squalls of wind, and very often torrents of rain. Indeed, from the 17th of December, 1813, until the 1st of May, 1814, (the period of his departure,) scarcely a day passed without rain, and high winds from the N. E. The sick were all recovering, except Pettinger, a Marine, who was greatly debilitated by an obstinate wound in the left thigh.

It was now deemed prudent to take more effectual measures for the defence of themselves and the ships. To this end, all hands were employed in landing six cannon from the *Seringapatam*, and mounting them behind the

breastwork, called Madison's fort, thrown up by my orders, on the summit of a high hill, near the encampment, and completely commanding the bay. What most astonished the Americans, however, this day, was the appearance of the simple Otaheitan, who, as my readers will recollect, threw himself from the Essex into the sea, when twenty miles from land, in consequence of a blow he received from the boatswain's mate. His story was at once amusing, and almost incredible. *Tamaha* stated, with his accustomed artlessness, that he became intoxicated in the afternoon of the frigate's departure from the Island, and in the evening, unobserved by any one, fell overboard from the ship's head. She was then off Comptroller's Bay, and about twenty miles from the land. He was drawn down under the frigate, and bruised in several parts of his body. After remaining in the water one day and two nights, and making several fruitless attempts to regain the shore, on account of the violence of the surf, he at length succeeded; but found himself so exhausted, by long-continued exertion, and the bruises he received under the frigate's bottom, that he was unable to stand, or to help himself in any way whatever. At this critical moment, to his extreme surprise, one of the *Typees*, against whom he had recently taken an active part in the war waged against them, came down to his assistance, and very kindly took him to his house. He remained there four days, when the humane and generous *Typee* brought him to the encampment in a canoe. Lieut. Gamble very properly rewarded the latter for his charitable behaviour, and had the satisfaction to see him leave the encampment under a deep impression of the noble conduct he had evinced towards an enemy, and of the value of the bounty he received.

Exclusive of the bruising, there was nothing uncommon to a Sandwich Islander, in passing under the bottom of a ship. Lieut. Gamble himself, a few days after, had no difficulty in engaging one of the natives of *Nooaheevah* to dive down in five and a half fathoms water, and fasten a rope to the fluke of an anchor. But to remain two nights and a day in the water without food, and, in all probability, without any thing to buoy him up, is a circumstance that may justly excite astonishment. The next day, *Tamaha* obtained permission to go ashore for the purpose of getting a piece



of cloth, and a fan, given him by one of the *Typees*, which he said, were still in the canoe that brought him down. Lieut. Gamble, with an eye to his personal safety, charged him to sleep within the encampment, and to return on board the *Greenwich* in the morning. *Tamaha* promised to comply with his injunctions, but was not seen again for several days.

For some time Lieut. Gamble had employed two men daily, in digging up ground for a garden, and had already planted several kinds of seed. He was informed, that the natives of the adjacent valley had recently been in the habit of killing the swine left behind by me for the use of the ships. On the 22d, therefore, he sent a messenger to advise them not to kill any more, and without delay, to replace those they had killed, by others from their own stock. To this they returned for answer, that they knew he had but twenty men, and that, as *Opotee* had left the island, they did not care for him, nor would they restore the swine. The next day he acquainted *Gattanewa* with the predatory incursions of his people, and with the insolent reply they had sent him; assuring the chief, that they had, the preceding day, killed forty swine, and shut up twice as many in their houses; and that, unless they immediately restored the latter, and replaced the number killed, by as many from their own stock, he would march forthwith into the valley, and destroy all they had. The chief replied, that he had repeatedly warned his people not to steal the swine, but that they paid no attention to what he said, and despised his warnings. Seeing that was the case, he was given to understand, that no war would be made upon him personally, but only upon those who had stolen the swine. Some villain had spread a report among the natives, that the effective force of the whites amounted only to twenty men, and this, in a great degree, accounted for their rapacity and insolence. So bold had they indeed become at this time, that one of them, in the afternoon, even within sight of the encampment, ventured to carry away a pig. What were their real motives for this strange conduct, it is hard to conceive. Lieut. Gamble had used every effort within his power to conciliate their esteem, and given them the strongest assurances, that he would pay for the cocoa-nuts, bananas, and every thing else he received from them.

Under existing circumstances, however, it became absolutely necessary to attack them before the departure of the *New Zealander*, not alone to chastise them for their rapacity and insolence, and to recover the stolen animals, but to remove the impression of the weakness of the Americans, under which they evidently now laboured. Having therefore made the necessary arrangements to defend themselves against an attack, of which there appeared to be every prospect, in recovering the swine, at 9 A. M. on the 24th, he landed the whole of his effective force; having previously distributed the sick and the lame on board the different ships, with orders to fire one cannon from each ship, as soon as they heard the report of his musket, which was the only signal he could then establish. In addition to this, the guns were pricked, primed, and properly directed to bear upon a village on the summit of a hill, distant about one mile and a half, where he intended to commence the attack. On this hill a great number of the natives had collected together, for the purpose of annoying the Americans as they marched up the valley. At half past 9, Lieut. Gamble commenced his march, with thirty-five armed men, in single file, having an officer in front and rear, in order to show to the greatest advantage. At 10 A. M. having advanced within a quarter of a mile of the village, the signal musket was fired, and immediately answered by the guns from the ships, and one from the fort. The party then proceeded to the summit of the hill, without opposition; and on reaching it, to their great surprise, instead of two or three thousand of the natives, prepared to attack them, they found only an old chief, who advanced with a flag of truce. He stated, that his people, on seeing so many white men advancing against them, had all turned cowards, and fled over the hills, and that they were now willing to replace all the swine they had killed by others from their own stock. Lieut. Gamble replied, that this was no more than what he had often requested; and since they had chosen to put him to the trouble of marching against them, each village must agree to requite him by sending down to the encampment forty swine, together with the thieves who had recently committed so many depredations upon him. The chief rejoined, that so far as respected the swine, they would accede to his terms;

but that, in respect to the thieves, it was impossible to bring them in, they having absconded over the hills, and sought refuge among the *Happahs*. Lieut. Gamble now marched his men over several of their public squares, and found a number of the natives prepared with swine and cocoanuts, to conciliate his favour. At half past 11, A. M. he set out for the encampment with five chiefs, and two of their greatest warriors, prisoners of war; apprising them, at the same time, that he intended to detain them on board the *Greenwich*, as hostages, until the restoration of the swine, and surrender of the thieves; and that, in case these stipulations were not complied with in twelve hours, he would put them all to death, and march immediately again into the valley, in quest of his property and the rogues. Although the day closed very pleasantly and advantageously for the Americans, yet, as it rained with great violence in the early part of it, they were under considerable apprehension lest their ammunition, though well secured, might be spoiled.

Lieut. Gamble could account in no other way for the cowardice of the natives, seeing the extensive preparations they had made to assail him, than that they must have been deceived as to the actual amount of the force under his command. For, having previously understood that he could muster no more than twenty men, and now conceiving, very probably, from the manner in which he marched, that he had five times that number, they became confused and terrified, and without further reconnoitering, fled in every direction. The effect may, however, be attributed, with more propriety, to the firing of the cannon on board the ships, and at the fort; as this must necessarily have created a greater panic among them; and, moreover, induced them to believe that a reinforcement could be called up by the Americans, in case it should become necessary.

On visiting the *New Zealander* this day, lieut. Gamble found several of her crew attacked with an unusual and strange swelling in the legs. Upon inquiry, it appeared that some had suffered with this novel complaint nearly two weeks. In every case the inflammation seated itself at the second joint of the leg, and in one or two, the knees were swollen to the size of the body. By applying pow-



erful poultices to them, however, they were gradually reduced to their natural size.

On the 25th, the natives gave an earnest of their intention to comply with the exactions of lieut. Gamble, by bringing down to the encampment twenty-seven swine, and a quantity of cocoa-nuts. They were extremely alarmed, however, at the detention of the hostages, and lieut. Gamble, in order to reap the full benefit of the crisis, despatched one of the chiefs on shore, with a flag of truce, to inform them of the close confinement of his fellow-prisoners, and of lieut. Gamble's unalterable determination to shoot them all, unless the stipulations of the treaty were fulfilled before sunset. This seasonable measure had its full effect. As the day was closing, lieut. Gamble went on shore, and found eighty swine, with five hundred cocoa-nuts, brought down for him by the natives, but not one of the thieves. These, upon inquiry, were found to have abandoned their dwellings, and secreted themselves among the *Happahs*. The next day he brought the hostages upon deck, and sent for Wilson, the interpreter, (who had just returned in an open boat, from *Rooahoogah*, after an absence of five days,) to inform them, that if they would engage to be vigilant, and use their utmost efforts to apprehend the thieves as soon as they returned from among the *Happahs*, he would immediately release them. To this they very readily assented, and were accordingly released. The chiefs had no sooner gained the shore, than they immediately attacked the swine thieves, and ran one of them through the body with a spear; and the survivors, again taking to their heels, sought their usual refuge with the *Happah* tribe.

Having understood, a few days before, from an authentic source, that *Tamaha* resided clandestinely, among the *Typees*, lieut. Gamble was induced, this day, to despatch a messenger for him, and to have him brought down to the ships. The following morning the messenger returned with *Tamaha*, who, from motives of policy, was sent on board the *New Zealander*, and in her he sailed again for the United States, the next day, at 12 A. M. This ship proceeded without interruption, to within a day's sail of New-York, when she was unfortunately retaken by a British cruiser, many of whom were at that time hovering

upon the coast. What became of *Tamaha*, subsequently to this event, is not known, except that he was claimed as a subject of Britain, and compelled to serve under her flag.

Lieut. Gamble now employed his men in filling the ground tier of the ships with salt water; and, to ensure greater safety in the night, divided them into four watches.

One watch was permitted to go ashore every night, at 4 A. M. under an express proviso to return on board in the morning, or at any time of the night, when he fired a musket as a signal of alarm. The *New Zealander* having departed, and his effective force being thereby greatly reduced, he thought proper to admonish them against the smallest inattention to the duties assigned them; and above all, not to sleep during the watch. But notwithstanding these salutary admonitions, so dull, or so inconsiderate, were some of them, that two were caught asleep in the first watch of the very same night, and, of consequence, subjected themselves to chastisement, as well as to a stoppage of their grog.

The rain commenced again on the 31st. The day preceding, lieut. Gamble visited Lewis's Bay, with a view of procuring bananas; which he effected, without any difficulty. The natives, though evidently alarmed, received him with great kindness, and immediately made preparations to bake a hog for his repast; but, as the night was fast approaching, he declined the favour, and departed with the present of two hogs, a quantity of cocoa-nuts, several bunches of bananas, and a war-club from the old chief.

The natives of the adjacent valley, since the late incursion of the Americans, remained very quiet, and manifested the greatest friendship towards them. They had brought down to the encampment about five hundred cocoa-nuts, and otherwise gave unequivocal tokens of their good will and esteem. On the 2d of January, 1814, the rain came down in torrents, and for the first time since his arrival at the Marquesas, lieut. Gamble heard it thunder. Several of the garden seeds had already come forth, and bore a very fresh and flourishing appearance; but as the mice abounded greatly on the island, he was under considerable apprehensions that they would totally destroy them.

Having received information on the eighth, that the

natives of the valleys bordering on the lee Bay, had gone to war with a tribe about thirty miles distant, at 10 A. M. he set out for the Bay, with two boats and twelve armed men, accompanied by *Gattanewa*, the aged chief. On landing, he was informed that the chief of the valley had hid himself among the rocks, and that the people generally were busily employed in removing their property to the interior. They had already taken the life of an innocent man, who came up to the village, ignorant of the commencement of hostilities; and therefore lieut. Gamble deemed it necessary to demand why they went to war. He reminded them of the promise they made me, to live in peace, and not to engage in war unless I directed them; endeavoured to convince them, that no advantages could be gained by warring among themselves; and recapitulated some of the evils they had already experienced in plundering, and shedding blood. To this it was answered, that the chiefs, and the people in general, were averse to the war; and, on farther inquiry, lieut. Gamble learnt, that about two hundred of the tribe who resided at the opposite extremity of the valley, and among whom the assassin just alluded to, had taken up his abode, were the sole cause of the disturbance. As the readiest way, therefore, of putting an end to the quarrel, he directed the chiefs to apprehend the assassin, and deliver him up within two days, upon pain of being attacked with his whole force. They replied, that they had already been in search of him that morning, with an intention of taking his life, but that, in consequence of his absconding, with all his abettors, over the hills, they had not met with success. They added, however, that by way of inflicting some injury upon the enemy, they had brought down all the swine and bananas they could find, and intended going up again in the morning for more. These spoils were immediately offered to lieut. Gamble; but as his chief object was to terminate, at once, all enmity between the contending parties, he desired them not to plunder any more, but to use all their efforts in apprehending and bringing down the assassin; to which they readily assented.

Some persons may perhaps be at a loss to conceive, why lieut. Gamble should take so deep an interest in the affairs of the natives, and especially, why he should subject



himself to the trouble and the danger of intermeddling with the disputes of tribes residing comparatively at a distance from him. But to such, unacquainted, as they must be, with the real nature of his situation, it will be enough to say, that he found by experience, that the smallest relaxation in the system of order, established by me for the tranquillity of the island, was attended with the worst consequences; and that therefore, to follow up the policy of that system, and to take a lively interest in all their concerns, were the best possible methods of consulting his own safety, as well as the harmony and advantage of the natives themselves. The intercourse I held with them was founded upon an unalterable determination to indulge them on all proper occasions—to conciliate their good wishes, as far as practicable—and to reconcile them to each other, as speedily as possible, whenever a dispute arose; and in pursuing the same course, lieut. Gamble had the satisfaction to find, that his intercourse with them was placed upon the best possible footing, at least for the present. On some occasions indeed, it became necessary to resort to force, in order to bring them to a sense of their duty; but these were chiefly when evil disposed persons excited their jealousy, or circulated malicious rumours concerning their neighbours or their friends. Having restored tranquillity among the tribes at the lee Bay, as far as circumstances would permit, and made a hearty dinner upon bread-fruit, roasted bananas, and a hog nicely baked by the natives, lieut. Gamble set out for the ships, with nineteen bunches of banana, twenty-one swine, thirty cocoa-nuts, and some bread-fruit, which the natives insisted on his receiving.

On the 10th, the carpenter was employed in repairing the boats, and all hands besides, in putting the vessels in order. Fresh bread was daily issued to the crews, and swine killed four times a week. No intelligence had been received concerning the remote natives of the leeward bay, except that they had slain a native, of the tribe at Lewis's Bay, recently visited by lieut. Gamble, in revenge for the assassination of him who came, ignorant of hostilities, up to the village of the latter, a few days before. The recent rains had caused every vegetable in the garden to put on the most flourishing appearance, and to promise an early return for the labour and attention bestowed upon their cultivation.

In breaking up the after hold of the Seringapatam, six swivels and four blunderbusses were found, and immediately landed, to be mounted at the fort. My readers will find, on referring to the viiiith chapter of this Journal, that this ship, at the time of her capture, mounted several guns, and was strongly manned. She had already made prize of an American whale ship; but, on demanding her commission, her commander informed me, with the utmost terror in his countenance, that he had none. Now, however probable it may be, that the guns I saw on board her were obtained by the captain, without the knowledge of his owners, since his arrival in the Pacific Ocean, yet I leave them to judge, whether these swivels and blunderbusses were not concealed in the hold of the ship, previously to her departure from England, and that, too, with the knowledge of her owners, and the revenue officers, in order to commence a course of piratical depredation upon the supposed defenceless whale ships of the United States?

An instance of extraordinary superstition occurred on the 15th of January, in the person of *Gattanewa*, the aged chief, who had only returned from the valley of Lewis's Bay two days before. He stated to lieut. Gamble, that he was extremely ill, and much alarmed; the *Happah* tribe having, by some means or other, stolen a lock of his hair, and buried it in a plantain leaf, for the purpose of taking his life. Lieut. Gamble used every argument to undeceive him; and endeavoured to expose the ridiculous fallacy of the notion to which the old man had given way. But it was all in vain: die he must, unless the lock and the plantain leaf were brought to him; and to obtain them, he had offered the *Happahs* the greater part of his property. The *Happahs*, however, were inexorable, and bent upon his destruction; and the poor, deluded chief earnestly begged of lieut. Gamble, to advise him what to do. He complained of an excessive pain in the head, breast, and sides; and, taking these afflictions into consideration, lieut. Gamble suggested the propriety of using some medicine, and being bled. He expressed a wish to be bled immediately; but as twilight had already set in, lieut. Gamble deferred it until morning. The next day, at 8 A. M. *Gattanewa* despatched a messenger for lieut. Gamble, who, on arriving at his house, found at least three hundred men, women, and children, collected together, to

witness the operation. After taking about seven ounces of blood from him, he fainted, and the spectators immediately called out to know whether he had killed him. Lieut. Gamble directed the interpreter to assure them, that the loss of seven ounces of blood, would not deprive a man of life; and that in the course of two or three hours, the old chief would be greatly relieved. The next day, the pains had nearly ceased, but the disorder of his mind continued as obstinate as ever; and, in truth, there could be no great hope of his recovery from it, however much he himself might feel disposed to think so, while those around him incessantly inculcated the idea of its impossibility. On the 17th, lieut. Gamble visited him again, and was much surprised to find him better.

As he had no disposition to use the least rigour towards the natives beyond what necessity required, lieut. Gamble made known to the swine thieves, that he should exact no farther damages from them, provided they would build a house for him, within the breastwork, on the hill, and another near the water, for his boat. To these terms they acceded at once, and so industriously did they labour at the buildings, that before the close of the ensuing day, one of them was completed. The garden still continued to flourish, but the mice had entirely destroyed the beans.

An event now occurred of more serious importance to the welfare of the Americans than any which had yet taken place since the departure of the Essex. In order to keep the natives in total ignorance of the weakness of his force, as well as of the manner in which the duties of the ships were performed. Lieut. Gamble had given positive orders to the crews of the Sir Andrew Hammond and Seringapatam, not to suffer male or female to come alongside, or on board, on any pretence whatever. Notwithstanding this unequivocal regulation, he had for some time suspected the crews of these ships of carrying bread secretly on shore, for the natives, and permitting females to come on board at night. He was not long left in doubt, for, on the morning of the 20th, one of the men who had watched on shore the preceding night, reported, that at the hour of five he saw a female swim from one of the ships, with a large bundle of bread. That no scruple might arise, in regard to the fact, a boat was sent to these ships the fol-



lowing night, at 10 o'clock, with orders to say, in case of being hailed, that they came to borrow an hour-glass. She had no sooner arrived alongside of the Seringapatam, than midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, who had concealed themselves in the stern-sheets, sprang on board; and finding the watch extremely alarmed, they rushed immediately into the cabin, where they saw three females in the act of jumping out of the windows, one with a large bundle of bread under her arm. Having secured them properly, the midshipmen next visited the Sir Andrew Hammond; and although no fair intruders were found on board, there was every reason to suspect that they had first landed from her; the boat having been discovered by the crew of this ship, as she was passing to the Seringapatam. This done, the boat returned to the Greenwich, and lieut. Gamble conceived it to be his duty not only to chastise the men, and stop their grog, but also to inflict a little punishment upon the female intruders. Let not my fair readers impute a want of gallantry, and perhaps of humanity, to lieut. Gamble, for having, on this occasion, inflicted a slight punishment upon three of the most abandoned females of the island. He is not that man. If they reflect for a moment, that he was placed with a set of lazy, thoughtless fellows, who would sooner risk a general massacre, than arouse from their stupid apathy, in the midst of forty thousand savages, all anxiously waiting for the first relaxation of vigilance, to take advantage of his weakness, they will see the propriety of preventing, by all possible means, the visits of those females, who could not but discern and report that weakness. To my mind it appears perfectly clear, that, had it not been for these clandestine visits, the sad disaster which afterwards happened, would not have taken place. But to prevent, as far as practicable, the occurrence of a similar scene, midshipmen Feltus and Clapp were directed to send on board the Greenwich, from the two other ships, all the harpoons, lances, and pieces of iron; and to take an accurate inventory of all the stores, provisions, and other articles on board.

For several days the rain had descended in frequent showers, attended with violent squalls of wind. The hands of the Greenwich were employed, on the 22d, in digging up ground for another garden; and those of the

two other ships in performing various duties on board. Out of the whole number, only eighteen were fit for duty; and as, at the frigate's departure, they had chosen to have their full allowance of liquor continued, in preference to a more economical consumption, they had this day the sad satisfaction of drinking the last can of grog. *Gatlanewa*, the deluded chief, still continued extremely ill in imagination, and would not be persuaded that the *Happah* tribe had any other intention towards him, than that of taking his life. I may as well mention here, however, that it was not many days before he recovered, without any aid, either from the stolen lock, or plantain leaf.

A flag-staff having been erected, the day previous, in Madison's fort, on the 30th the American ensign was hoisted on it for the first time since my departure, under a salute of five guns. At the close of the day, some peas and beans were planted in the new garden, and an army of ants discovered in full attack upon the water-melon vines of the old.

The supply of swine and vegetables now became precarious, and neither could be obtained at *Nooaheevah* without fighting, or paying large whales' teeth for them. Being weak-handed, and without large whales' teeth, lieut. Gamble determined on paying a visit to the windward islands; and accordingly, all hands were employed, on the 2d of February, in preparing the *Sir Andrew Hammond* for sea. He was the more induced to take this step, as the natives of these islands were always willing to barter swine and vegetables for bits of old iron, of which he had an abundance. And in order to ensure the safety of the property left behind, against the pillage of the natives, it was deemed prudent to take with him a few of the chiefs, as hostages for the good conduct of their people, and all the traders, besides eight of his own men. In overhauling the rigging of the ship, it was found to be nearly all unfit for service; the British crew having cut it in pieces on the eve of their capture; in order, as they thought, to render her totally unmanageable. On the 7th, however, at an early hour in the morning, the ship was unmoored; and, having received on board seven of the principal men of the valley, she stood out of the Bay. On the 10th, at 9 A. M. lieut Gamble *hove to*, off the island of Dominica, and having sent a

boat on shore, was unable to procure more than six swine, a few bunches of banana, and about fifty cocoa-nuts. The natives, however, promised to furnish him with a hundred swine, provided he would come to an anchor in the Bay, and aid them in a war against their enemies. To these terms lieut. Gamble could not, for obvious reasons, assent; and he therefore stood on to a small Bay, a short distance ahead; at which he procured three swine, two pumpkins, and a bushel of sweet potatoes. He next came to an anchor at Resolution Bay, and permitted the natives to visit the ship. The prospect for trade at first appeared unfavourable, as the chiefs and men of property had all gone across to the island of Dominica, for the purpose of warring against the natives, who had violated one of the *taboo* laws against fishing in a certain cove. Indeed, with a single exception, the natives of every place at which the Sir Andrew Hammond touched, were all found to be at war with their neighbours, and equally desirous of obtaining the co-operation of lieut. Gamble and his men. But though circumstances were very inauspicious to a peaceable trader, before leaving the Bay, lieut. Gamble purchased upwards of thirty swine, six dozen fowls, some cloths of their own manufacture, a quantity of bread-fruit, and many other articles of value. The ship was now put before the wind, for the island of *Rooahoogah*, but as on nearing it the wind became adverse, and quite fresh, it was deemed most prudent to bear away for *Nooaheevah*, which, on the 16th, after an absence of nine days, lieut. Gamble had the pleasure to reach in safety, and to find all things in proper order. During this period, the proceeds of his traffic amounted, in the aggregate, to forty swine, six dozen fowls, a quantity of fine bread-fruit, two bushels of sweet potatoes, and many other articles of essential use. The natives of the neighbouring islands appeared to have an intimate knowledge of what was going on at *Nooaheevah*, as they all anxiously inquired when the ships were to leave the Bay, and when *Opotec* was expected to return.

The first dish of lettuce was served up on the 19th; and the general appearance of the garden bid fair to produce a profusion of melons and cucumbers, in the course of two or three weeks. No event of importance occurred until the 28th, when, as lieut. Gamble was walking aft on the quar-



ter deck of the Greenwich, about four in the morning, he saw a man apparently bathing in the surf; but soon after, hearing him call out for help, he was convinced that the poor fellow was struggling for life. A boat was immediately ordered to pull towards him with all possible expedition; but alas! John Witter, a marine, had already disappeared. The loss even of some one of the worthless scoundrels with whom lieut. Gamble was surrounded, would, at this time, have proved severe; but in parting with this faithful German, he felt that one of his main supports had fallen from him. On the 6th of March, Isaac Coffin left the encampment without permission, under pretence of washing his clothes at a brook, distant about half a mile. As he did not return on the firing of the usual gun at sunset, lieut. Gamble strongly suspected him to have deserted; and therefore at 9 P. M. taking eight of his best men, armed with muskets, cutlasses, and pistols, he went in search of him. In marching through the valley, but few of the natives were found awake; and these, after being informed of the object of his visit, were cautioned to remain quiet. Having proceeded about two miles within the land, a girl, who accompanied the party in the character of guide, pointed to a house not far off, in which, she said, the deserter would be found. There being no other way for him to escape, except through a small door, lieut. Gamble placed his men in front of the house, and then went in himself. He found the fellow dozing in the midst of a group of natives; and, after ordering him a severe flogging, set out with him for the ships, without being molested by any one. The natives appeared to be greatly alarmed when lieut. Gamble reproached them for having knowingly harboured one of his men; and, on being threatened with punishment, gave evident signs of their conviction, that such conduct towards him was illiberal and unjust.

During the night of the 8th, the rain, as usual, fell, at intervals, in showers, accompanied by heavy claps of thunder, and sharp flashes of lightning. On the 10th, the sentinel on shore gave the alarm of *a sail in sight!* and all hands were immediately called to prepare for defence. The stranger, however, proved to be no other than a large war canoe, standing into the Bay, from *Rooahoogah*, carrying a lateen sail, at least twenty-five feet high, and crowded

with natives.—The garden still continued in a flourishing state. Several dishes of lettuce had already been served up; and, on the 14th, lieut. Gamble and his companions enjoyed the rare luxury of a mess of turnips and cucumbers.

But the frowns of fortune again soon appeared. The watchman on board the Greenwich, in the night of the 18th, at 2 o'clock, called out, that the boat was missing from alongside. The alarm was immediately given, and on examination, lieut. Gamble discovered that John Robinson, who had recently suffered punishment for theft, Isaac Coffin, the deserter, Peter C. Swook, and John Welch, had made their escape. It could scarcely be credited at first, that men, even of the lowest order in society, surrounded by savages, and without the possibility of reaching a civilized part of the world, in an open boat, could seriously think of deserting. But on a nearer investigation of the matter, such was found to be actually the case. They had taken with them from the Greenwich, three muskets, and nearly all the cartridges; from the Seringapatam, five muskets, five barrels of powder, all the carpenter's tools, two cords of boat boards, an English ensign, a compass, all the clothes of Joseph Curtis, two shirts of midshipman Feltus, a hat belonging to one of the seamen, some provisions—and many other articles, of minor value. Lieut. Gamble instantly ordered the only one of the remaining boats to be manned, in which he could possibly hope to overtake them, but the villains had taken the precaution to scuttle her, and she was therefore of no use. Not having a sufficient number of hands to man two boats; ignorant of the course they had taken; and not knowing in whom to place confidence—he determined, for the present, to relinquish the pursuit. The next morning, while at breakfast, the men on deck cried out, that the natives were coming down, in a large body, to attack them. Lieut. Gamble immediately ran up, and perceived a great multitude of the islanders within a short distance of the encampment. In these circumstances, not a moment was to be lost. The guns were cast loose, and loaded with grape-shot, and the men on shore directed to repair on board the Greenwich, with their muskets; but before they left the beach, lieut. Gamble discovered that the natives were merely bringing down vegetables, and were wholly unarmed. Being unable,

however, to account for so large a concourse, apparently on so trivial an occasion, he directed the matches to be kept lighted, and the men to remain at their quarters, whilst he went on shore to inquire the cause. On landing, he was met by one of the chiefs, who stated, that they had brought down a quantity of bread-fruit, and several bunches of banana, which they intended as a present for him. Lieut. Gamble accepted of the present, but still could not account for so singular an instance of generosity. Since the departure of the *Essex*, not more than fifty of the natives had visited the encampment at any one time; but, on the present occasion, they amounted, in number, to at least two or three hundred. Perhaps they were impressed with the idea, that the ships were shortly to leave the Island, and therefore brought down the bread-fruit and bananas as a last offering of their friendship and good will. This appears the more probable, as lieut. Gamble learnt on the 24th, that some malicious person (whom he strongly suspected to be Wilson, the interpreter,) had reported among the natives, that *Opotee* would not return; and that the Americans intended to depart, in a few days, with two of the vessels then at anchor in the Bay.

The women of *Nooaheevah* possess a considerable degree of cunning; and though among us, the following instance would not be deemed of any consequence, yet, in a rude, uncultivated islander, it may well pass for an ingenious trick. Lieut. Gamble noticed, for several days, that none of the natives ventured out in their canoes to catch fish; and upon inquiry, he learnt, that an old woman had reported, in their hearing, that he intended to carry them on board one of the ships, and to confine them in irons, as soon as he caught them out. It seems, she took this effectual method to punish them for refusing her a regular supply of fish, which she had recently demanded of them.

In the evening of the 26th, the *Seringapatam* parted her lower cable; and nothing but the fasts between her and the *Sir Andrew Hammond* prevented her from running on shore. The following night, at 5 o'clock, she again parted the same cable, and drifted in 15 feet water, (she drawing full 14,) and before the hands had every thing properly secured, the *Sir Andrew Hammond* floated within ten feet of the rocks, and was in the utmost danger. By indefati-



gable exertions, however, they were both drawn into deeper water, and soon secured, in the best manner that circumstances would permit. The garden had now, for some time, yielded them regularly a mess of cucumbers three times a week; and on the 4th of April, they had the pleasure to gather from it several fine musk-melons. The violence of the rain, during the early part of the 5th, far exceeded every thing lieut. Gamble had ever witnessed; and on the following morning, torrents were seen in every direction, rushing down the hills in beautiful cascades. Such was the extent of the sudden inundation, that the men on shore were under the necessity of abandoning their dwellings, and seek shelter in a lumber house, upon a more elevated spot. Lieut. Gamble found the water at least two feet deep in all the other buildings, and alongside the Greenwich it had become sufficiently fresh to slake his thirst.

The hands were now employed in removing every article from the shore on board the ships; and lieut. Gamble, beginning to despair of my return, deemed it most prudent to put the vessels in a condition to meet the worst. Accordingly, several boatloads of provisions and other articles were sent on board the Sir Andrew Hammond and Seringapatam, and stowed so as to bring them down by the stern. On the 14th, the men commenced rigging the ships, and otherwise preparing them for sea. The Sir Andrew Hammond was armed with fourteen carronades; and the Seringapatam with ten long nine pounders, four twelve pound carronades, and four long six pounders. Being considerably straitened in the article of linseed oil, lieut. Gamble, after several unsuccessful experiments, had the good fortune to find an excellent substitute in the juice of a nut, called by the natives *Haamah*. In mixing this with paint, it proved to answer equally as well as the linseed oil; and though the nuts were at first reported to be very scarce, yet seven men, in the course of a day, gathered twelve baskets, at a place distant about six miles from the Bay.

The natives of the adjacent valley had, for the last six weeks, been employed in making preparations to celebrate a great feast, called by them the *Coeecah*; which commenced on the morning of the 28th. From all parts of the

island, they assembled at the grand public square allotted for that purpose ; and, after feasting and dancing three days, they returned peaceably to their homes. On this occasion, at least three hundred swine were baked, and all the fish which had been taken during the period above-mentioned, were cooked for preservation, without having the entrails taken out. Several of the men requested permission to go ashore for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity at the *Coeecah*, and lieut. Gamble, having understood that it was expressly forbidden by one of their *Taboo* laws, to injure any person during the feast, complied with their request.

The ships having parted their cables so often, two or three of the anchors were lost. For some time the men had endeavoured to recover them with grapnels, but in vain ; and on the 2d of May, one of the natives was engaged to try his luck in diving. He made choice of an anchor lying in six and a half fathoms of water, on some part of which, the noose of a whale line had been previously hooked ; and dove down to fasten a rope around the fluke. This service he performed with apparent ease ; and the men were enabled to raise the anchor, without any farther difficulty. He received a harpoon and whale's tooth, as a reward for his trouble, and was so highly gratified, that he desired to know when he might come down to dive again.

But the dreadful catastrophe now drew near ; and my readers will confess, that, had it not been for the uncommon firmness and resolution, displayed by lieut. Gamble and his companions, they could not have survived the struggle. As this terminated his sojourning on the island, I shall take the opportunity to remark, that the temperature of the atmosphere, almost without any variation, stood at 83° of Fahrenheit, and never exceeded 85°.

On the 3d of May, lieut. Gamble discovered that the boat-sail had been stolen by some person on board the *Greenwich* ; and, from all accounts, it appeared, that suspicion could be fixed upon no one, with so much probability, as upon Belcher, the boatswain's mate. The following day he was informed by one of the seamen, that most of the men were forming a scheme, either to mutiny, or make their escape in one of the ships ; and that Belcher,

and four of the prisoners of war, were the chief instigators of the plan.

For the present, he determined to pay no farther attention to the subject, than the strictest prudence required; and, at the same time, by way of guarding against the worst, to remove all the arms from shore, and all the muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and ammunition from the Seringapatam, on board his own ship. On the 6th, matters wore a more alarming aspect; and the sudden change in the countenances of the men, plainly indicated, that an awful explosion was soon to take place. The situation of lieut. Gamble became extremely critical and dangerous. He was at most, enabled to man only one vessel, after mustering every effective hand; and on leaving the Bay, he foresaw the necessity of destroying two of the ships. Seeing the expediency, however, of meeting the shock with boldness and resolution, he continued to prepare for an attack; and although every stratagem was used to gain an insight into the intentions of his men, no one fact could be ascertained with sufficient precision to authorize the confinement of either of the suspected persons. He considered Belcher, the only petty officer under his command, a consummate villain; and had not the smallest doubt, but that, if he attempted to confine one half of the men, the residue would either make an attack upon him, or escape in a ship. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that he became extremely impatient to leave the place.

The 7th commenced with clear weather, and a light breeze from the land. Part of the men were employed in carrying two large oil tanks, and a quantity of rigging, from the Greenwich to the Seringapatam; the cooper and carpenter in caulking her deck; midshipman Clapp in painting her larboard side; two of the marines on shore, in extracting oil from the *Haamah* nuts; and another on board the Greenwich, in repairing the muskets. At 2 P. M. lieut. Gamble went on board the Seringapatam, for the purpose of stowing the tanks to the best advantage; and having ordered one of the men to get into the larboard tank to receive the articles which were to be deposited in it, he went upon deck. In passing the main hatch, a few moments after, he observed them throwing the articles very carelessly into the tank; and again ordered the same fellow



into it, as before. Upon this, the villain called out, in a loud voice, that he would not obey the order, nor do any more work on board the ship. Scarcely had the words escaped his lips, when all the men on deck threw down their hats, and made the same declaration. One of them then drew a large knife from his bosom, and desired his accomplices to lay hold of lieut. Gamble; whereupon the latter made an effort to get into a boat, then alongside the ship; but before he had reached the gunwale, he was seized with great violence, by six or seven of the mutineers, and, after a short struggle, thrown back upon the deck. His hands were immediately tied behind him, and his legs crossed, and bound so tight as to cause him great pain. This done, he was thrown down upon the birth-deck—from thence dragged into the cabin—and forthwith thrust into the *run*, by three men, in the roughest manner.\* He was soon joined by his unfortunate companions, midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, who were thrust down in the same harsh manner. The scuttle was then nailed down, and a sentinel placed to guard it. While in the act of tying him upon deck, lieut. Gamble inquired what they meant by treating him in this manner; and he was answered by Martin Stanley, who raised a maul over his head, that if he spoke another word, he would beat his brains out. Not intimidated, however, by this ferocious threat, lieut. Gamble repeated the question; and in particular, demanded the reason of their mutinous conduct. In reply, it was stated, that they had been detained as prisoners long enough, 'in the damned place,' and were now determined to regain their liberty. As soon as the three officers were properly secured in the *run*, as before stated, the mutineers gave three cheers, and hoisted the English flag. They next proceeded in two parties, the one on shore, to spike the guns in the fort, and bring off all the powder, and the other to the ships Greenwich and Sir Andrew Hammond, to spike their guns also, and to plunder them of small arms, and other valuable articles. Having accomplished these objects, they sent for Robert White, who was expelled by me from the Essex, for attempting to excite mutiny in her

\* Some of my readers may perhaps require to be told, that the *run* is that part of a ship directly under the cabin floor, without a window, or the smallest aperture to admit the light.

crew ; and having received him on board, they bent some of the sails, unmoored the ship, and with a light breeze stood out of the Bay. Lieut. Gamble and his companions found their confinement almost insupportable, on account of the close air of their prison, and having several times requested to be admitted into the cabin, the two latter were at length released. By the persuasions of midshipman Clapp, however, the former was also soon after brought into the cabin, and seated on a chest, near the skylight, with two men to guard him, armed with his own pistols, loaded and cocked. Lieut. Gamble again desired one of these men to inform him, who were of his party, and what were their names. He answered, that they amounted at least to twelve or fourteen in number ; and that their names were,

Thomas Belcher, boatswain's mate.

Robert George, seaman.

Richard Power, do.

James Duncan, cooper. (Prisoner of war.)

William Stiles, do.

Martin Stanley, ord. seaman.

Joseph Curtis,

James Morrison, (Prisoner of war.)

Lewis Ronsford, do.

James Bantum,

Jeremiah Workman,

Robert Lambries, (Prisoner of war.)

William Clark, do.

Among all these, lieut. Gamble had the satisfaction to find, there was not a single American ; and it is therefore with peculiar pleasure, that I here insert the names of those who took no part with the mutineers.

William Worth, seaman.

Richard Sansbury, O. seaman.

Joseph Burnham, do.

Benjamin Bispham, marine.

Peter Caddington, do.

John Pittenger, do.

Thomas Gibbs, cook.

John Thomas, servant.

About 8 o'clock in the evening, after much difficulty, the ship got out of the Bay. Shortly after, Ronsford, one of the men who guarded lieut. Gamble, fired off one of the pistols, the ball passing nearly in a horizontal direction, just below the ankle of the latter, through his left heel: whether by accident or design, lieut. Gamble could not ascertain; but the act had no sooner been perpetrated, than several muskets were pointed at him, through the skylight, and nothing but the expostulations of the guard prevented their contents from being lodged in him. At 9, the maintopsail was backed, and the officers were informed that a boat was in readiness to receive them. Lieut. Gamble expostulated with them upon the wanton barbarity of turning him into an open boat, without arms and ammunition to defend himself against the natives; and, after a few moments' consultation, they agreed to furnish him with two muskets, and a keg of cartridges. Midshipmen Feltus and Clapp, William Worth, and Richard Sansbury, had already entered the boat, and in passing over the deck, lieut. Gamble found each man armed with a musket and a pair of pistols. Their situation in the boat did not tend much to lessen the misfortunes by which they were surrounded. They were at least three miles from the entrance of the Bay—the boat was half full of water—midshipman Clapp was employed incessantly in baling—and, although weakened by the loss of blood, and enduring great pain from his wound, lieut. Gamble was under the necessity of steering, while the remaining three exerted themselves at the oars. After toiling two hours, however, they had the good fortune to reach the Greenwich, and found on board her Ross and Burdenelle, two of the traders, who resided near the Bay. These men represented, that Wilson, the interpreter, was the chief instigator of all that had happened; that he had assured the natives, they had now nothing to fear from the Americans, as they were destitute of arms and ammunition. Having passed a restless night, lieut. Gamble and his party employed themselves, during the whole of the 8th, in removing the sails, and other articles of value, from the Greenwich to the Sir Andrew Hammond, and in making preparations to embark the remainder of the property on shore. The natives already began to plunder, and Worth had the misfortune to



be robbed, the night previous, of all his clothes, by Wilson, or some worthless fellow in his employ. To prevent the recurrence of similar depredations, and with an eye to greater security, the Sir Andrew Hammond was moored farther out in the Bay.

Early on the 9th, the midshipmen and hands went ashore for the purpose of launching a raft, which had been used to remove articles to and from the ships; and this having been effected, after some difficulty, with the assistance of the natives, they returned on board, at 8 o'clock, to breakfast. At the expiration of an hour, they again proceeded to the shore, and commenced loading the raft. Shortly after, Burdenelle, the trader, came down in haste, to inform the party, that Wilson was then at his house; and, without farther ceremony, Worth and Coddington, armed with the signal musket, ran up immediately to secure him. In the meantime, the midshipmen, with Burdenelle, visited the Sir Andrew Hammond, to report what had happened, and to request a boat to convey Wilson on board. To this lieut. Gamble assented with great reluctance, on account of the distrust he felt towards the natives, under present circumstances, and the fatal consequences which must ensue, in case his friends were attacked by a superior force. But, after the lapse of half an hour, the boat returned without Wilson, he having made his escape to a distant tribe. Midshipman Feltus and Burdenelle were now extremely anxious to ransack his house, for the purpose of recovering the property which the villain had stolen in their absence, and especially the powder he received from the mutineers. They had been assured by the natives, that Wilson should not receive the least assistance or protection from them; and for this reason, were the more desirous of undertaking the laudable, though somewhat hazardous, task. At half past eleven they set out, accompanied by four men, armed with three muskets only; and, although scarcely able to walk, on account of the acute pain of his wound, lieut. Gamble got upon deck, and earnestly cautioned them against having any intercourse with the natives, or running any risk of an attack. So many suspicious events had occurred since his return to the island, that it was impossible for him utterly to divest his mind of a fearful jealousy towards the natives; especially

when he reflected, that no longer than the night previous, they had robbed the traders of all their muskets, and otherwise evinced an uncommon degree of hostility. To add to the miseries of his situation, lieut. Gamble, now that he needed them most, had the mortification to find that the mutineers had stolen his trumpet and spy-glass, as well as several very valuable charts.

The anxieties of lieut. Gamble, in regard to the fate of his friends who had just gone ashore, proved, in the end, to be too well founded. Midshipman Clapp, who had remained upon deck since the departure of the boat, came into the cabin about half past twelve, and announced that the boat was then in the surf, surrounded by a number of the natives. Lieut. Gamble went immediately upon deck, and taking with him a keg of cartridges, a lighted match, and other necessary implements, proceeded, in a leaky boat, with midshipman Clapp, Sansbury, and Bispham, to the other ship; leaving only Pittenger, the cripple, behind.\* They had not yet reached the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, when the natives were discovered in possession of the boat, and, a few moments after, running in all directions, with the property of the traders, as well as the swine and other effects, belonging to the encampment. On reaching the ship, several of her guns were immediately loaded, and fired at the enemy, within the encampment, and on the beach; but just as the second round was about to be discharged, two white men were seen throwing up their arms in token of distress; and immediately after, swimming, with all possible exertion, towards the ship. Seeing the urgency of the occasion, midshipman Clapp, with Sansbury and Bispham, instantly sprang into the boat, then half filled with water, and with their utmost efforts, rowed towards the unfortunate men.

Lieut. Gamble now remained alone on board the ship, enduring the severest pain from his wound, and labouring under a violent fever—while two boats, crowded with savages, were approaching him, and a great number besides, were endeavouring to launch a war canoe for the same purpose. Aware, however, that a few shots from the cannon could alone repel them, and prevent their massa-

\* It is here necessary to mention, that the mutineers did not spike any of the guns of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, except those which were loaded.

ereing every *soul* in the boat, as well as himself, he made a last desperate effort, and hobbled upon one leg, from gun to gun, firing them off as fast as he could. And, notwithstanding the many difficulties under which he laboured, so happily did he direct the pieces, that the two hostile boats were forced back—the natives on shore were driven from their war canoe—and midshipman Clapp enabled to save the lives of the exhausted men, who were struggling amidst the waves.

The two men proved to be Worth and Coddington, the latter severely wounded in the head, by a stone thrown from the sling of a native. He swam at least half a mile, with the blood streaming from his ears and wound, and on gaining the ship, was scarcely able to ascend from the boat without assistance. They reported, what lieut. Gamble, with a heavy heart, had anticipated: that midshipmen Feltus, Burdenelle, Thomas Gibbs, and John Thomas, were massacred by the natives; and that Ross, the trader, who was engaged at his house, in preparing to leave the island, must inevitably have shared the same fate.

In reflecting upon this melancholy event, my readers cannot but form some idea of the poignant feelings under which I labour, in common with lieut. Gamble. To the latter, especially, the stroke came with redoubled severity; for he loved young Feltus with the tenderness of a brother, and ever felt a deep anxiety in his fate. In the sixteenth year of his age, and possessed of every accomplishment that could command respect and admiration, he was at the same time actuated by a noble ambition, which no untoward circumstances could repress. He bid fair to become an ornament to his profession, and an honour to his country. Those who knew him personally, admired his youthful gallantry; and placed, as he was, under the command of lieut. Gamble, by his own request, I cannot but lament, that so cruel a destiny should have awaited his intrepidity and spirit.

Being now reduced to the necessity of leaving the island, as speedily as possible, lieut. Gamble despatched a boat to the Greenwich, for Pittenger, and some articles, of which he then stood in need. Himself and midshipman Clapp were employed, during the interval, in firing upon the enemy, and Worth in bending the only sails that circum-



stances would permit—the spanker and jib. Some of the guns were occasionally directed at the fort, where a multitude of the enemy had collected together, with Wilson at their head, and were endeavouring to extract the spikes from the guns. At 4 P. M. the Greenwich was set on fire; and all things being in readiness, the cable of the Sir Andrew Hammond was cut, and with a fine breeze from the land, she stood out of the Bay. The night was dark, and the course of the ship was guided chiefly by the flames of the Greenwich.

In the morning, lieut. Gamble was under the disagreeable necessity of cutting away the anchor, which still hung in the water; the crew not having sufficient strength to raise it on the bow of the ship; and in attempting to hoist up the boat, it broke in two parts—so that he found himself obliged to put to sea in a leaky ship, without a boat or an anchor to help himself in distress. At 8 A. M. of the following day, they set the mizzen topsail, and employed themselves immediately, in bending the other sails. The only seaman on board was Worth, whose good management in working the ship out of the Bay, prevented her from being stranded on the rocks.

Having only six cartridges left, and without the means of conducting a voyage to the continent, lieut. Gamble, after mature deliberation, considered it best to steer the ship for the Sandwich Islands, at some one of which, he hoped to meet with relief. It was probable that he might there man his vessel in a more effectual manner, from some of the American ships who were in the habit of frequenting those Islands; or, at least, receive such assistance as would enable him to proceed in safety to Valparaiso. The state of his crew was as follows:

Himself—Severely wounded in the heel.

Midshipman Clapp—In good health.

Bispham, do.

Coddington—Wounded in the head.

Worth—A fractured leg.

Sansbury—Rheumatism.

Burnham—An old man, just cured of the scurvy.

Pittenger—A cripple.

So that, of the whole number on board, only two were actually fit for duty, and only one acquainted with the management of a ship. Nothing material occurred until they reached the island of *Owyhee*, which was on the 23d. The weather had continued pleasant, and no accident of any kind happened to retard their progress. On rounding the Southern extremity of the Island, a number of the natives came off in canoes, with some cocoa-nuts to trade. They informed lieut. Gamble, that *Tamahamaah*, the king, resided at *Taeigh* Bay; and fifteen of them, expressing a wish to remain on board the ship that night, he ordered them to sleep on the birth-deck, while the crew remained on the quarter deck, with pikes by their sides—the only weapon on board the ship. In coasting along the N. W. side of the Island, on the 24th, several canoes came off in the afternoon, with swine, poultry, fruit, and vegetables; and the ship being a great distance from the shore, lieut. Gamble permitted the natives to stay on board that night. In the morning, they left the ship, with the greater part of their swine, &c. not having seen any thing on board for which they would willingly exchange them. They now stood towards the northern part of the island, and, at sunset, three natives came off in a canoe, with a few water-melons; but, contrary to their custom, as soon as these were disposed of, they returned in great haste to the shore. At daylight, on the 28th, they hove to, off the northern point of the island; the weather being so cloudy and hazy, as to prevent their seeing the land. The ship, however, had not been long in this situation, before she was discovered to be in the midst of the surf and breakers, and apparently within pistol-shot of the shore. Lieut. Gamble immediately ordered her to be wore round, and in a few moments, had the good fortune to see her clear of the most imminent danger. They now passed between several of the Islands, and in the afternoon of the 31st, came to off *Whyateetee* Bay, on the S. W. side of the island of *Waohoo*. An American, by the name of Harbottle, came off in a canoe, and gave a very flattering account of the state of things on shore. He kindly undertook to pilot the ship into the Bay; and at lieut. Gamble's request, despatched the canoe ashore, with a note for Captain Nathaniel Winship, a native of America, describing the state of the vessel,

and earnestly requesting his assistance to bring her into the Bay.

By the advice of Captain Winship, lieut. Gamble displayed the American flag, in order to show the people on shore to what nation he belonged. Soon after, several canoes visited the ship; and in a short time he had a sufficient number of men on board to work her into the Bay. Captain Winship sent him an anchor, and some provisions for the crew, with an invitation to come and sup with him on shore; of which lieut. Gamble very gladly accepted. The next day, some of the natives were detected in stealing clothes from the men; and in consequence thereof, an order was given, that no canoes but those belonging to white men, or to the king, should visit the ship. Lieut. Gamble greatly regretted not finding at this Island, the captains William Davis and Jonathan Winship, with their ships, (according to previous intimation,) as from these he had calculated to receive such assistance as would enable him to proceed to the main. But they had gone upon a secret expedition; and from the accounts received on shore, he foresaw the necessity of returning, as early as possible, to *Owyhee*, in order to procure the outfits he then needed. *Tamahamaah* resided at *Owyhee*, and all naval stores were generally sold under his eye. As there was a prospect, however, of shipping a number of American seamen, who were wandering about *Whyateetee* Bay, he determined not to weigh anchor until he had made the attempt; and in the course of a few days, succeeded beyond expectation. While on shore, he was informed, by Captain Winship, that a ship had looked into the harbour on the 22d, and then stood off again under all sail. From the description given of her, as seen at a distance, lieut. Gamble did not doubt but that she was the *Seringapatam*, with which, my readers will recollect, the mutineers, at the Island of *Nooaheevah*, made their escape. Captain Winship treated lieut. Gamble with that frank liberality and kindness, which distinguish the Americans, in every part of the world; and entertained him constantly, at his house, with such comforts as the nature of his situation could afford. Nor were some of the natives less backward in bestowing their favours. The two chiefs, or head men of the Island, *Maha* and *Mytie*, visited the ship, accord-



ing to custom; and as soon as they returned on shore, expressed their satisfaction by sending off a quantity of fresh vegetables for the use of the crew.

At daylight on the 3d of June, a signal gun was fired from the ship, and a number of canoes immediately put off to tow her into the inner harbour, for the purpose of being anchored in a safer place. At eight o'clock, she was, with some difficulty, brought through the narrow channel of the Bay, and moored in perfect security, within a short distance of the shore. For this service, the natives received each a piece of new iron hoop, and left the ship, well satisfied with their reward. Besides Captain Winship, lieutenant Gamble here met with three Americans, Navarrow, Butler, and Marshall; who had recently been officers of American ships, and were now living unemployed on the Island. From Mr. Navarrow midshipman Clapp was so fortunate as to purchase a pair of pistols, and some clothes, of which he stood greatly in need. Mr. Marshall had been mate of the American ship *Lark*, Captain Holmes, from New-York, which, in the month of April, upset in a gale of wind, in the latitude of the Sandwich Islands. The crew remained upon the hull of the vessel two weeks, when she drifted among the rocks, on the island of *Mowee*. The natives no sooner discovered the wreck, than they ran down immediately to it, and plundered the officers and crew of every article they possessed.

At sunset on the 4th, the natives reported that they had seen a strange sail off Diamond hill; and lieutenant Gamble, being extremely desirous of leaving the island as soon as possible, set all hands to work the following morning, in repairing some serious defects in the ship. Two of the hands were sent on shore to patch up an old boat which Captain Winship had given him, being the best in his possession; and from *Haamah Mytie* he was fortunate enough to purchase a good canoe, for ten dollars; for *Haamah Mytie* would trade for nothing but cash. The crew were now of sufficient strength to manage the ship in the worst of weather, nine men having entered for an indefinite period, and received each an advance, not exceeding fifteen dollars, in new iron hoops. Taking all things into consideration, Captain Winship was quite comfortably situated at *Whya-teetee* Bay. He had already resided on the Island upwards

of two years, and had so far succeeded in introducing the arts of civilized life into this remote quarter of the globe, as to make a sufficient quantity of butter and cheese for his own use. A melon appeared every day of the year upon his table, and his garden produced all kinds of vegetables in abundance.

## CHAPTER XX.

### CONCLUSION OF LIEUT. GAMBLE'S ADVENTURES.

HAVING received a box of tea from a Spanish gentleman who had resided on the Island upwards of twenty years, together with several goats, swine, and vegetables, from different persons near the Bay, lieut. Gamble weighed anchor on the 11th of June, and left *Waohoo*, one of the richest of the Sandwich Islands. *Maha*, and about forty of his people, took passage in the ship, with five tons of *paie*, a food extracted from the *taro* root, and a quantity of dried fish, which they were taking to *Tamaahmaah*, the king. They had been prevented, for some time, by the roughness of the sea, from carrying this tribute in their canoes; and therefore very eagerly embraced the opportunity which the Sir Andrew Hammond afforded.

But the hour of misfortune again approached. At daylight on the 13th, a strange sail was discovered, close in with *Owyhee*, and directly ahead. Being now too near to effect a retreat, and having every reason to suppose her to be the American ship Albatross, daily expected at *Waohoo*, lieut. Gamble concluded to stand towards her. On nearing her, he was impressed with an idea that she might perhaps be the *Seringapatam*; and therefore, to make her recapture certain, he ordered the guns to be cast loose, and as many of them to be loaded as the powder and ball on board would permit. At half past 7, the stranger showed a signal at the foremast head, but being destitute of spy-glasses and trumpets, lieut. Gamble was unable to distinguish it, or to ascertain, by hailing, what it meant. He was still, however, under the impression, that she was either an American ship from Canton, or one of the Northwestern traders; having understood, from some person on board, that these vessels had established for themselves a set of signals, and were in the habit of displaying them on meeting with a ship. His doubts were soon cleared up. At 8 it fell perfectly calm, and the stranger, having hoisted American colours, lieut. Gamble was now convinced, that



she was a ship of war, and an enemy. Shortly after he received a shot, and was immediately taken possession of by the British national ship *Cherub*, Captain Tucker, one of the captors of the *Essex*. Lieut. Gamble was ordered to repair, forthwith, on board the *Cherub*, and, apprehensive of being pilfered in his absence, he requested midshipman Clapp to take care of his things: but the latter having also been brought on board in the second boat, they had the mortification to find themselves robbed of a number of valuable articles, including a sextant, two tea-spoons, several books, and the pistols, which midshipman Clapp had recently purchased.

On reaching the *Cherub*, lieut. Gamble was politely received by Captain Tucker, and introduced to the gentlemen of the wardroom; while midshipman Clapp was made acquainted with his future companions in the steerage. Captain Tucker requested his surgeon to dress the wound in lieut. Gamble's heel, with which he very cheerfully complied. But no stroke of adversity came with so much pain to the feelings of lieut. Gamble, as the capture of the *Essex*, with which he was now, for the first time, made acquainted. He had already suffered under a series of afflictions which but few men besides could have endured, and now, to hear of the loss of that ship, seemed to fill up the cup of his misery. It was some alleviation of his feelings, however, to hear even Captain Tucker confess, that he never saw a ship make so desperate a resistance; and that "he had expected to see her colours lowered an hour before 'FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS' came down."

In the afternoon of the 15th, the *Cherub* and her prize came to an anchor in *Ranheina* Bay, at the island of *Mowee*, for the purpose of procuring wood and water. In the mean time, lieut. Gamble was surprised to hear, that his men had been robbed of the greater part of their clothing, and that several of their chests had been forcibly broken open. He made a representation of this ungenerous conduct to Captain Tucker, but without effect. The unfortunate natives too, who had taken passage in the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, (with the exception of *Maha*, and four or five others,) were compelled to jump overboard; and must certainly have perished, had they not been picked up by some of the fishermen; as the ships were at that time at least six

miles from the land. I must here apprise my readers, that the swine and vegetables purchased by lieut. Gamble at *Waohoo*, previous to his capture, were paid for in new iron hoops; and that as these hoops were weighed out to *Tamaahmaah's* agent, on that island, he requested lieut. Gamble to take them with him to *Tamaahmaah*, as the swine and vegetables all belonged to him. Accordingly, when the ships arrived at *Mowee*, which was in the vicinity of *Tamaahmaah's* residence, lieut. Gamble explained these facts to Captain Tucker, and was very desirous of having the hoops immediately landed. But Captain Tucker refused his assent to so just a proposition, averring that every thing in the *Sir Andrew Hammond* must go home, as prize of war; and it followed of course, that not only was *Tamaahmaah* wrongfully deprived of these iron hoops, but the poor natives who had taken passage in her, were deprived of their five tons of *paie* and dried fish. What were the motives of Captain Tucker for this conduct, it is hard to determine. Perhaps, however, he was desirous of injuring the credit of the Americans with the natives of the Sandwich Islands. If this was his object, he might have spared himself the trouble. *Tamaahmaah* knows too well who are his real friends, and who are not, to be the dupe of such an artifice.

The ships now made the best of their way for the island of *Atooi*, a fellow by the name of Betty (who had resided at the Islands 16 years, and collected considerable property by supplying American ships,) having informed Captain Tucker, that the American ship *Charon*, *Whittemore*, was then at that Island. At daylight on the 18th, in sight of the Island, a sail was discovered on the weather beam, and and at 9 o'clock, the *Cherub* came up with, and captured her. She proved to be the *Charon*, but without a cargo, and her captain just then happened, luckily, to be on shore. Her crew were immediately removed to the *Cherub*, and a prize-master and men sent on board. Early on the 19th, another sail was discovered, with her fore and mizzen-top-gallant-masts struck, and the *Cherub* immediately gave chase. At 9, she displayed Portuguese colours, and the *Cherub*, having hoisted the American ensign and pendant, fired a shot and brought her to. A boat was then despatched for her commander, and having returned with

Mr. Thomas, an American gentleman, who exhibited the ship's papers, she was, after a short detention, permitted to proceed. The Cherub, in company with the Charon and Sir Andrew Hammond, soon after, hove to off *Whymea Bay*, at the island of *Otooi*, and Captain Whittemore having, for some cause or other, come off to the Charon, the evening before, he was brought on board the Cherub, and, to the surprise of lieut. Gamble, introduced into the steerage of the ship. There being property near this Bay, to the amount of eighty thousand pounds, belonging to the Captains Whittemore and Jonathan Winship, the latter then being on the Island, Captain Tucker, for four days, employed every stratagem to gain possession of it, without effect. He at first began to wheedle the proprietor or king of the Island; using all his efforts to entice him on board the Cherub; but the king declared his determination to protect the property at the risk of his life, and would by no means condescend to pay Captain Tucker a visit. He, at the same time, despatched several messengers in succession, to inform him, that he would supply the ships with whatever swine and vegetables they might want, provided they came to an anchor; but not otherwise. Not disheartened, however, by this resolute behaviour of the king, Captain Tucker next adopted a more imposing scheme. His first lieutenant, Mr. Whitewood, being looked upon as a very artful and plausible man, was sent on shore in the evening, to see Captain Winship, and to pay his respects to the king. Of his conference with the latter, little is known, except that he persisted, as usual, in his determination not to visit the ship, and to protect, to the uttermost, the neutral property under his care. Captain Winship received him with the politeness of a gentleman, and soon convinced him of the folly of his errand. Not willing, however, to dismiss the baffled emissary, without some compensation for his trouble, Captain Winship presented him with six bottles of Madeira wine; together with several other articles for the use of the ship, and then bade him a hearty adieu. Soon after his return on board the Cherub, Captain Whittemore was very properly removed from the steerage into the ward-room, and introduced to the gentlemen who occupied that part of the ship.

On the 22d, Captain Tucker despatched the Charon



and Sir Andrew Hammond for Rio de Janeiro, by the way of Valparaiso ; and deeming it necessary to send midshipman Clapp in the former, for the purpose of condemning her in the vice-admiralty court, lieut. Gamble was in consequence, to his extreme regret, separated from that valuable friend. The Cherub now bore away for the island of *Waohoo*, but, owing to light winds, and a strong current setting to leeward, she did not reach it until the 28th. It appeared, at first, to be the intention of Captain Tucker to look into *Whyateetee* Bay, and to try his fortune with the proprietor or king. But that king was *Maha*, whom Captain Tucker had so shamefully treated on board the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, at the time of her capture ; and there was also another Winship near him, to consult and advise with. Captain Tucker was likewise well aware that he had exasperated the king of *Otooi*, as well as *Maha*, and the survivors of his forty companions, by depriving them of their *paie*, dried fish, and iron hoops ; and that it was more than probable, some of these had returned to *Waohoo*, and stirred up a just resentment against him. Under these circumstances, therefore, he considered it prudent not to touch at *Waohoo*, and stood directly for *Owyhee*.

My readers may well imagine, that the situation of lieut. Gamble on board the *Cherub*, was not one of the most agreeable. Unable to take exercise on account of the severity of his wound ; shut up among strangers, on board a ship of war, in a warm climate ; at an almost hopeless distance from his native country, and with no prospect of reaching it within a reasonable period : it is no wonder that he regretted even his separation from the island of *Noaheevah*, and sighed heartily for *Gattanewa* and his tribe. For the rest, his fellow-prisoners who fared with the crew, complained frequently of the want of food ; and although they had all, except Pittenger, regained their health, yet this poor fellow still laboured under the torments of a morbid leg, and often endured the most excruciating pain.

Nothing worthy of note occurred until the 4th of July, except the mustering of the ship's company and prisoners of war, on the Sunday preceding, and the reading of the morning service by Captain Tucker. This being the anniversary of the declaration of our Independence, the gen-

lemen of the ward-room, with a liberality of feeling which does them great credit, ordered a suitable dinner, with an extra bottle of wine; and Captain Whittemore and lieut. Gamble had the happiness to commemorate that glorious event, notwithstanding their confinement as prisoners of war, on board an enemy's ship.

Having reached *Owyhee* on the 6th, Captain Tucker sent a messenger on shore, with an invitation to the king to come on board and dine with him. At three o'clock P. M. His Majesty appeared, attended by his prime minister, Mr. Pitt, (!!!) and a numerous retinue. Lieut. Gamble was honoured with a seat at the table, near these great personages, and was not a little amused to see them indulge so freely in the wine and other luxuries of the dessert. The next day, lieut. Gamble, by request, accompanied Captain Tucker on shore, and visited the king's house. Here they met with an Englishman by the name of Jennings, who had commanded the brig *Forrester*, bound from England to the N. W. coast of America; but the said Jennings having shot one of his crew for attempting to excite a mutiny, was very safely set on shore at *Owyhee*, by the survivors. Shortly after, a man, calling himself John Young, entered the royal mansion; and not aware that lieut. Gamble was an American, he gave Captain Tucker a very particular account of the ships of the United States, then in those seas. He stated, that the *Albatross*, Captain Smith, was daily expected from Canton, with twenty thousand dollars in specie, and a quantity of dry goods; and the *O'Cain*, Captain Winship, from the Russian settlements on the N. W. Coast. He described minutely the state of affairs on the islands of *Waohoo*, *Otoo*i, and *Owyhee*, and appeared extremely anxious to place the property of the Americans in the hands of their enemy. This ungrateful man had resided more than twenty-five years on *Owyhee*, and during that period had received from the American traders, exclusively, upwards of ten thousand dollars in cash, for supplies. After going through with his narrative, lieut. Gamble thought proper to announce his real character; when the astonished ingrate, with shame upon his countenance, sneaked slyly out of the way. Nothing farther transpired at the king's residence; and at 4 P. M. they returned on board the ship. The day following, the king, attended by Young, and four of his wives, (weighing each

400 pounds!) dined on board with Captain Tucker; and having taken leave of the ship towards evening, she got under sail for the island of *Mowee*, to procure a fresh supply of wood and water. The weather continued clear and pleasant, and at times sultry; the thermometer vibrating generally between 81° and 83° of Fahrenheit.

At 5 P. M. of the 10th, the *Cherub* was moored, head and stern, in *Ranheina* Bay, at the island of *Mowee*, and the hands immediately commenced bringing on board wood, water, vegetables, and swine. On the morrow, lieut. Gamble went on shore with the purser, but the weather was so excessively warm, and the walking so unpleasant, on account of the red dust with which the ground was covered, that they returned again on board, after a short stay. The next day, the ship was unmoored, and with a light breeze, stood to the N. W. for the island of *Waohoo*. At half past one she came to, off *Whyateetee* Bay, and waited for a canoe to come alongside. Shortly after, William Davis, one of the traders, approached, and kindly offered to pilot the ship into the Bay; but Captain Tucker, for obvious reasons, did not consider it prudent to avail himself of the offer, choosing rather to remain where he was. Davis stated, that Captain Winship had for some days past, been extremely ill with a *calculus*, to which he had long been subject, and stood in great need of medical aid. Captain Tucker, with great liberality, assured lieut. Gamble and Captain Whittemore, that if Captain Winship would come off to the ship, he should receive such assistance as it was in his power to afford him, and requested them to forward a note to Captain Winship to that effect; adding that the latter should be at liberty to return on shore, whenever he thought proper. This proposition was very readily acceded to, and the sufferer in a short time appeared on board, scarcely able to stand. He received instructions from the surgeon of the *Cherub*, in regard to the treatment of his disorder, and then returned on shore with Davis, in good spirits, although apparently enduring great pain. The *Cherub* now made sail, and stood for the island of *Olooi*, being disguised with a false poop, and other stratagems, in order to decoy the king, or Captain Winship, of the *O'Cain*, on board; Captain Tucker having learnt, that the latter was, with his ship, at this island, by the last accounts received from it. Accordingly, on the 15th, at meridian, he



hove to, off *Whymea* Bay, and displayed the American flag: but no person appearing to take notice of it, he bore away for the island of *Oneehow*. In the morning, at 11 A. M. the ship was brought to, off the S. W. point of the island, and soon after, a canoe, with seven of the natives, came alongside. They informed him, that the O'Cain and the *Mercurio* (the Portuguese ship, of which mention is made a few pages back) had left the island for the main, two days since; and Captain Tucker, despairing of any farther success among the Sandwich Islands, now bent his course apparently for the Marquesas.

And here I cannot avoid recording a specimen of the Captain's manners, at a time when, of all others, he should have set a better example to those around him, considering the station he filled. A few days before leaving the Sandwich Islands, he sent for Mr. Lathrop, the late chief mate of Captain Whittemore's ship, and put several questions to him, with a view of ascertaining the state of Captain Whittemore's property at *Otooi*, and the best means of gaining possession of it. To these questions, Mr. Lathrop, very justly and very honestly, did not conceive it his duty to give answer; and Captain Tucker, instead of doing justice to the motives of this upright man, turned him out of the cabin, in the most ignominious manner, and with language unbecoming his station and character.

On the 21st, six days after leaving the Islands, being in lat. 12°. 42'. N. and 155°. 53'. W. longitude, Captain Whittemore, Mr. Whitewood, the first lieutenant, and the sailing-master, went upon deck, for the purpose of taking an observation; but Captain Tucker would not lend them a sextant, and of course they were disappointed. What were his reasons for this strange conduct, I cannot pretend to determine.

During the passage to Valparaiso, which was subsequently found to be the destination of the ship, no events of any particular interest occurred. This passage was performed by the *Cherub* in the unexampled space of ten weeks; whereas the dullest merchant vessels commonly perform it in six. In fact, from the favourable state of the weather, it was the general opinion on board, that they ought to have gained sight of the continent in eighteen days after leaving the Sandwich Islands. From this cir-

cumstance, it will very naturally be inferred, that Captain Tucker does not possess that practical knowledge of seamanship, to which officers of his grade have usually attained.

On the 13th, an order was issued, that the fire in the galley should thenceforth be extinguished daily, at 2 P. M. in consequence of which, lieut. Gamble was deprived of a cup of tea in the afternoon; one of the best comforts his delicate health required. These, and other regulations of a similar nature, as will be seen anon, were not lost upon the fertile genius of *Jack*; and Captain Tucker had soon the satisfaction of being generally known throughout the ship, by the whimsical title of '*Mr. Garrick*.'

At 6 A. M. on the 16th, land was descried from the mast-head, and being then in lat.  $14^{\circ} 58'$  south, and long.  $147^{\circ} 48'$  west, it could have been no other than Prince of Wales' Island—at least, this was the general opinion on board. Having lost sight of it on the weather quarter, at 10 A. M. of the same day, Recreation Island was discovered, bearing S. E. in lat.  $15^{\circ} 13'$  south, and long.  $148^{\circ} 53'$  west, nearly. This island was first discovered by Roggewin, in 1712; and in all probability, has seldom or never been visited since. On the 17th, land was again descried from the mast-head, which proved to be *Miatea*, one of the Society Islands; although Captain Tucker at first mistook it, very strangely, for *Otaheite*. It now appeared to be his intention to call at the latter for refreshments; and after three days search, he was so fortunate as to find out *Matavai* Bay; almost as well known to navigators, as the harbour of New-York. The charts of the harbour are generally known to be correct; and no difficulty can occur in running by them directly into the Bay; yet, from some novel cause or other, the captain did not conceive it prudent to run his ship in, without a previous examination; and Mr. Oakey, the master, was accordingly despatched for that purpose. In the course of an hour, Mr. Oakey signified that there was good anchorage in the Bay; but the ship had now drifted far to leeward; and she was consequently compelled to haul off for the night. The next day, however, at 10 A. M. she was brought safely to an anchor in the Bay, in 12 fathoms water, Point Venus bearing N. N. E. and the Bluff S. W. by S.

As soon as the ship was perfectly secured at her moor-

ings, the crew commenced repairing the rigging, and bringing wood and water on board. The weather was exceedingly warm during the night, and the thermometer mostly stood at 83°. of Fahrenheit. In the course of the following day, upwards of one hundred canoes came off to the ship, loaded with several kinds of fruit and vegetables; but Captain Tucker peremptorily forbade any person on board trading with them. Sick as he was, lieut. Gamble could not gain permission to moisten his parched lips with the juice of an orange, nor Mr. Lathrop, (Captain Whittemore's mate) who had subsisted for more than two months, upon a scanty allowance of salt beef and pork, to purchase a pineapple, which one of the natives offered him for some trifle in his hand. What were the strange motives which induced Captain Tucker to adopt such a preposterous course of conduct, I am at a loss to conceive. Being informed on the morning of the 20th, that this very original commander had ordered the prisoners to assist in hoisting the water-casks on board, lieut. Gamble immediately apprized them, that it was perfectly optional to obey or disobey the order; and that therefore they might retire, if they chose, from the work. The poor fellows, however, had been promised an additional supply of food, as a reward for their labour, and their allowance being but scanty, they preferred remaining at work. The next day, one of the men who had charge of the wooding party, came off in haste to the ship, and informed Captain Tucker that two of his comrades had made their escape. Captain Tucker appeared greatly surprised, seeing he had appointed a guard of marines to attend the parties on shore, for the express purpose of preventing desertion. A number of Otaheitans, however, were immediately sent in pursuit of the fugitives, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, one of them was apprehended, and brought on board. The same day, Captain Tucker was so good as to appoint his gunner factor to the ship's company, for trading with the natives: but as the ship weighed anchor at 10 o'clock the next morning, no time was allowed to notify the natives of this indulgence; and, of course, it was perfectly useless. Had it been otherwise, the company might have provided themselves with a stock of fruit and vegetables for a long voyage, which they were now obliged to undertake in a comparatively dis-



tressed state. The island produces potatoes, yams, plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, water-melons, lemons, limes, oranges, &c. &c. in abundance.

At 4 P. M. of the 22d, the ship standing to the west, between the islands of *Otaheite* and *Emao*, a canoe came alongside, with an answer from the resident British Missionaries, to a letter Captain Tucker had previously sent them; and with a notification of their intention to visit the ship. But the Captain kept on his course, and the Society Islands were soon out of sight. On the 25th, at 9 A. M. all hands were mustered to witness the punishment of the deserter, King, who received three dozen lashes for the pains he had taken to quit his king's service at *Otaheite*.

From the 23d of August until the arrival of the *Cherub* at Valparaiso, on the 23d of September following, nothing of material interest transpired. In approaching the coast, the thermometer fell gradually to 56°. and on the 20th of September, the water became deeply tinged, and many aquatic birds flew about the ship. Captain Tucker entered the port of Valparaiso under the American ensign and pendant, and with 'FREE TRADE AND SAILORS' RIGHTS' at his foremast head. As the ship drew near, lieut. Gamble was extremely disappointed at seeing the old Spanish flag displayed in the forts; but a boat soon came alongside, with the agreeable intelligence, that the patriots were still advancing in their great work, and intended shortly again to hoist their own flag. The viceroy of Peru had refused to sanction the preliminaries of peace, drawn up by Captain Hillyar, between the governments of Peru and Chili, chiefly because by one of the articles, the Patriots were required to receive all foreign vessels under the Royal flag. As soon as the governor and citizens of Valparaiso descried the American colours on board the *Cherub*, they believed her to be a ship of that nation, and became highly animated with the idea of so welcome a visiter; but on seeing them replaced by the British flag, their countenances suddenly fell, and every thing betokened the deepest chagrin. Besides several Spanish vessels, there were lying here at this time, the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, the *Charon*, an English brig, and the *Montezuma*, one of the prizes to the *Essex*. The two first had arrived 34 days previous, from the Sandwich Islands, and lieut. Gamble had once more the pleasure

of meeting with his friend and fellow-sufferer, midshipman Clapp, with whom he went ashore in the afternoon. Among the strange pieces of news which they learnt at this place, was a story, calculated to bias the minds of the patriots—that the king of England, after sending 20,000 troops to the United States, under the command of 'lord Wellington,' had created the said 'lord' emperor of North America, in reward for his good conduct!

On gaining the shore, lieut. Gamble repaired immediately to the house of that excellent man, Mr. Blanco, the American vice-consul; who received him in his arms, as a father, and entertained him in the most friendly manner, during the whole of his stay at Valparaiso. This friendship was not alone confined to Mr. Blanco; the people in general were rejoiced to see an officer of the Essex, and always spoke in the highest terms, of the conduct of her brave crew, on the day of their capture. Lieut. Gamble found here about twenty of the crew of the Essex, in a destitute condition; and was told that several others had enlisted in the army at Santiago. Whatever may have been the behaviour of the former subsequently to my departure from Valparaiso, I am pretty well convinced, that their sufferings must have been owing entirely to their own misconduct; for the generous patriots will never let an honest tar suffer, while the means of relief are to be had.

As Captain Tucker, contrary to every principle of sound reason and humanity, would not permit Captain Whittemore to leave the ship for a moment, whilst the other prisoners were all allowed to go on shore, and even to take lodgings in the town, lieut. Gamble thought proper to represent the matter to the Governor, through the medium of Mr. Blanco, in order to obtain some relief. The grounds of this extraordinary oppression, I confess myself unable to comprehend. Captain Whittemore had invariably supported the character of a gentleman, and had on no occasion excited the ill humour of the commander of the Cherub. There was one circumstance, however, that probably operated with some force upon the mind of the British captain. My readers will remember how actively he laboured, by fair and by foul means, to get hold of Captain Whittemore's property at the island of *Otoo*, and how completely his views were frustrated. Now, to people of

a particular turn of mind, no better reason could offer for punishing a fellow-creature, than a refusal to sacrifice to their rapacity the honest gains of industry, under colour of prize of war.

Notwithstanding appearances were at first unfavourable, in the course of a day or two Captain Whittemore received permission to go on shore, from the commander of the *Cherub*, accompanied by the agreeable intelligence, that this indulgence was owing entirely to the interference of the Governor. Encouraged by this instance of lenity, lieut. Gamble was induced to apply for a similar relaxation in regard to his men, who had already been confined four months on board the ship, upon short allowance; pledging himself, at the same time, for their good behaviour, and punctual return: but Capt. Tucker stopped him short, with a positive denial. Unfortunately for Captain Whittemore, he did not long enjoy the privilege of going ashore, for on the fifth day after the granting of it, he, by some unavoidable accident, was prevented from being on board *precisely* at sunset; and, as might have been expected, the indulgence was promptly countermanded.

The whole town was thrown into a sudden alarm on the night of the 1st of October, and the people generally took up arms, on account of some secret news which had just been received from Santiago. On the day following, intelligence reached them, that the patriot general O'Higgins, after gallantly defeating a superior force of the enemy, and dispersing them with great loss, had treacherously surrendered his whole army to the Royalists; who, in consequence, were hourly expected to march into Santiago. This disheartening news excited the greatest consternation at Valparaiso; and, to add to the misfortunes of its inhabitants, an order was received by the Governor from the President of Chili, requiring him to spike all the cannon in the forts—throw the shot into the sea—blow up the magazine—set fire to the shipping—burn the town—and then to repair as speedily as possible, with all his troops, to Santiago. An order like this could not fail to operate in the most distressing manner, upon the citizens. The unhappy women were driven almost to distraction, at seeing their husbands torn from them perhaps for ever; and their ears were incessantly stunned with the cries of misery from



every part of the town. Despair and death hung upon the countenances of all ; for, knowing the vindictive ferocity of the Royalists, they anticipated from their hands a general confiscation of property, and banishment, or death. So awful, indeed, had the crisis become, that lieut. Gamble was earnestly advised to repair on board the Cherub, for the sake of ensuring the safety of his person.

Having held a consultation with the proper officers, the Governor, in part, carried into execution the order he had received, by spiking the cannon, and throwing the powder and shot into the sea : after which he proceeded with his troops to Calleatto, there to remain until farther orders. The citizens of Valparaiso being now utterly defenceless, began to think of making a virtue of necessity, and with few exceptions, assumed the badge of the Royalists, making great preparations to receive the new Governor in style. On the 5th, it was announced in public, that the army of the Patriots had been totally defeated, and that the President of Chili, with Don Lewis Carrera, his brother, had made their escape with three hundred men, and a great sum of money. The Royalists soon after entered Santiago, and bestowed great honours upon a young man, who had been punished and imprisoned by the Patriots for conveying secret information to the enemy. On the 6th, this person was expected at Valparaiso, and great preparations were made to receive him. The old Spanish flag was again hoisted ; and Mr. Blanco, with several other patriots, were under the necessity of going out to meet him, for the purpose of escorting him into town. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the Royal standard was displayed from the windows of almost every house. At 12 o'clock, this august personage (who, a few days before, had received 300 lashes from the Patriots !) made his appearance, attended by a retinue of 200 horsemen, shouting ' long live the king ! ' which was promptly echoed by the populace. No outrages of any kind were committed ; and the rabble appeared to be strictly guarded from plundering the citizens. The next day, the new governor arrived in a Spanish sloop of war from Concepcion, and was received apparently with great friendship. The citizens all sent in their *adhesion*, except Mr. Romenes, who resolved to support the character of a Patriot, and under present circum-

stances, to remain perfectly neutral. He alone exhibited the true firmness of a resolute mind; for the rest, with the singular dexterity of cowards, sacrificed every honourable feeling to gain the good will of the rapacious tyrants who now ruled over them. In the evening, Mr. Blanco gave a splendid entertainment in honour of the Governor's arrival, and lieut. Gamble was invited to attend. Among the group at the entertainment, he recognized the Governor—a small man, about sixty-five years of age, and no way distinguished in his appearance. He had spent his days chiefly in the Spanish navy, and was then actually in command of a sloop of war.

On the 9th, Captain Tucker dressed his vessel in the colours of different nations, taking due care to drag the American flag in the water, and at 10 A. M. with the prizes, fired a grand salute in answer to one of 21 guns from the Spanish sloop of war and forts. The Governor gave a dinner and a ball, at the first of which neither Mr. Romenes nor Lt. Gamble were invited, because, as Mr. Blanco stated, they had not paid their respects to his Excellency. An order was issued on the 11th, for the people to come forward and take the oath of allegiance, and for the town to be illuminated three nights in succession. Notwithstanding this great display of pageantry, the Patriots, in spite of their well-timed dissimulation, gave evident signs of alarm.

The next day, Captain Tucker notified his intention of sailing on the 13th, and Lt. Gamble, in consequence thereof, took leave of his friends and repaired on board. But instead of sailing at the time appointed, the Captain again dressed his vessel in various colours, and at noon fired a salute of 21 guns in answer to a grand salute from the Spanish sloop and forts. On the morning following, however, a gun was fired, and the signal hoisted for getting under way—but the Cherub still remained where she was. At sunset on the 14th, the forts and ships fired a salute of 21 guns, and at 8 o'clock in the evening Captain Tucker sent up three sky-rockets, and burnt five blue lights. The cause of all this noise and confusion, Lt. Gamble could not at first conceive; but early in the morning, a signal was made of three ships in sight, and at 10 o'clock the British frigates *Tagus* and *Briton*, with the *Raccoon* sloop, came to anchor in the Bay.

\* Sep 80

The frigates had just returned from a cruise of four months among the Gallipagos and Washington islands, without meeting a single vessel of any description, and their crews, for more than six weeks, had been upon short allowance. Several of their men were dangerously ill, and not a few in a convalescent state. On coming to an anchor, they fired a salute of 13 guns, which was promptly returned by the fort. The next day, Lt. Gamble obtained permission to visit the Briton, for the purpose of learning some particulars relative to the island of *Nooaheevah*. Her Captain, Sir Thomas Staines, informed him, that Midshipman Feltus and all his companions, excepting Ross, were beyond doubt massacred by the natives before the Sir Andrew Hammond got clear of the Bay. Ross fled into the mountains and remained there for some time; but being at length exhausted with hunger, he was obliged to throw himself upon the mercy of an old chief, who very kindly took him under his protection. The villain, Wilson, complained that he had been robbed by the men under command of Lt. Gamble, and declared that he was perfectly ignorant of the intention of the savages to murder young Feltus and his friends. The guns were all removed from the fort, and the houses demolished. The remains of the Greenwich were still visible, but, excepting a few copper bolts, nothing was taken from the wreck. Peter C. Swook, one of the perfidious rogues who deserted in an open boat, previous to the mutiny at *Nooaheevah*, entered on board the Briton at St. Christiana;\* his three companions, who with him had safely gained that port, paid a visit to the ship at the same time, but declined entering.

The Raccoon had made a useless voyage to Columbia river, and was last from Lima. The American traders at the mouth of this river, sold their furs and their whole establishment to the Hudson-Bay company, some time before the arrival of the Raccoon. In coming out of the river on her way home, she struck twice upon a sand bar, and besides knocking off her false keel, and starting several planks from the bow, she was otherwise so seriously injured as to require three pumps to be kept going in order to keep her afloat. In consequence of this, the Captain was obliged to heave her out at St. Francisco on the coast of California.

\* St. Christiana is one of the Marquesas Islands, and about three days' sail from *Nooaheevah*.



On the 15th, shortly after the frigates and sloop had come to anchor, the Cherub got under way, and at noon, having received the Captain with Mr. Romenes and his family on board, she commenced sailing to and fro across the Bay for their amusement. At 5, P. M. she again anchored, and Mrs. Romenes with her companions, after saluting Lt. Gamble in the most affectionate manner, took leave of the ship. The Captain announced, the next day, his intention of waiting for the Raccoon, which it was supposed would probably detain them a week longer; but on the 18th, at 2. P. M. a signal was made for the prizes to weigh anchor, and at 6 the Cherub followed out of the Bay.

During their stay at Valparaiso no rain had fallen, and the weather daily became more mild and pleasant. Potatoes, cabbage, and sallad were the only vegetables they could procure, and there was no fruit to be had excepting oranges. The troubled state of their country very probably prevented the Chilians from paying that attention to the culture of their gardens, which under more favourable circumstances they would not have neglected to bestow upon them.

My readers perhaps will be pleased at my indulging them in this place, with Lt. Gamble's account of a comic adventure, which occurred on board the Cherub, a few days previous to her departure from Valparaiso Bay. Her Captain (now called Mr. Garrick) assembled his crew upon the quarter deck, and addressed them "in a very refined and eloquent speech." He stated that England was now at peace with all the world, America being too contemptible to be considered as an enemy. That king George intended to flog the Yankees as a schoolmaster would flog his scholars; (here the sailors laughed) and that the States would soon again be brought under their legitimate king, &c. &c.

During the passage to Rio de Janeiro, whither the Cherub and her two prizes were now bound, no event of great interest occurred. In approaching Cape Horn, the thermometer fell gradually from  $58^{\circ}$  to  $36^{\circ}$ , and the weather became tempestuous with frequent storms of hail and rain. In lat.  $56^{\circ} 15'$  south, long.  $73^{\circ} 49'$  west, the sun rose a little before 4. A. M. and set at 8 P. M.; so that the day consisted at least of 18 hours. November 7th the island of Diego Ramirez in sight, bearing N. E. distant about 25 miles, a number of Cape pigeons came flying around the ship, and the albatross,

which had not been seen since the departure from Valparaiso, now hovered about in flocks. On the 8th, the Cherub had fairly entered the Atlantic ocean, and I need not describe to my readers the joy of Lt. Gamble, in being once more blessed with a prospect of reaching his native land. For six months he had been confined to the ship as a prisoner of war, and it is no wonder that he was now more anxious than ever to be freed from the capricious authority of an enemy, who seemed to be governed by no settled principle of courtesy in his conduct to his prisoners.

On the 10th, the wind blew a violent gale from the W. S. W. and the prizes were lost sight of. At 9 A. M. the helmsman being rather inattentive to his duty, the ship broached to, in a heavy swell, and a sea which struck her, knocked in the after gun-deck ports, and stove in all the bulwarks of the larboard waist. The ship took in a great quantity of water; the trunks in the gun-room were afloat; and on the birth-deck the water was a foot deep. The pumps were kept constantly going for two hours; and it was with the utmost difficulty she could be guarded against a similar accident in encountering the heavy swells. After passing a stormy night, rendered dismal at times by violent squalls of hail and rain, at daylight the Sir Andrew Hammond was discovered on the larboard quarter; but the Charon was not to be seen. Great anxiety was felt for the safety of this ship, having only 9 men on board, and of this number only two were seamen.

On the 18th, the thermometer stood again as high as 58°.—At 5 P. M. a sail was discovered on the weather bow, apparently standing to the north; and at 6 the next morning, the Charon again joined company, after an absence of ten days. Lieut. Gamble had now so far recovered from his wound as to be able to take exercise without his crutch; and this he was in the habit of doing on the quarter deck. But what bounds are there to the senseless whims of a conceited commander?—On the evening of the 25th, while walking the quarter deck as usual, he received an order to go below, without the least provocation or cause therefor. Conduct like this, I leave to the comments of my readers.

On the 27th, at 2 P. M. a sail was discovered, bearing N. W. distant about seven miles. She was soon made out

to be a large ship, standing for the Cherub under a press of canvass; and at 4 P. M. the Achilles, of 74 guns, (but mounting 86) hove to on the weather beam, and ordered Captain Tucker on board. By the return of the boat, lieut. Gamble learnt that she was last from Rio de Janeiro, in search of the American frigate Guerriere, which had several times been seen off the mouth of the harbour.\* He was more pleased to learn, however, of the capture of the British ships Reindeer and Epervier, by the U. S. ships Peacock and Wasp, and of the arrival of the Epervier at Savannah, with some thousands of pounds specie on board. The next day at 2 P. M. land was discovered, bearing W. N. W., distant about eight miles; and at 6 the next morning, the Cherub, with her prizes, came to an anchor in Rio de Janeiro Bay, about four miles below fort Santa Cruz.—On the 29th, at noon, they again weighed anchor to proceed into the harbour; and passing by the Portuguese guard ship, the Queen, a beautiful vessel of 74 guns, they anchored in the safe and commodious harbour before the town. At this time, there were lying in the harbour, the British sloop of war Penguin, (afterwards sunk by the U. S. ship Hornet) and a large ship with 200 convicts on board, bound to port Jackson.

The day following, lieut. Gamble was so fortunate as to obtain permission to lodge in town; and on landing, he had the pleasure to meet with several American gentlemen, not a few of them, like himself, extremely desirous to go home. His first business was to address a note to Mr. Sumpter, the American minister, describing his situation; and the next day he was received by that gentleman in the most friendly manner, and invited to his house. He met with little encouragement as to an early prospect of proceeding to the United States; but there being here at this time upwards of 60 American prisoners of war besides himself, a hope was held out, that some neutral vessel might be chartered to carry them home, under a passport from the British admiral then in command. The weather was now excessively warm, and the thermometer generally stood at 84°, and 88°. Captain Whittemore and his officers came ashore on the 2d of December, and lieut. Gamble,

\* The Guerriere was at this time fitting for sea at Philadelphia.



with his friend, Mr. Clapp, were furnished by Mr. Sumpter with horses to visit him at his seat, three miles from town.

On the 18th, a grand salute was fired, in commemoration of the Queen's birthday, now fourscore years of age. On this occasion, the chapel of the Prince Regent was ornamented in the most splendid style. The sumptuous dresses of the priests, combined with the glitter of the massive gold and silver candlesticks in every part of the building, could not fail to have a very dazzling effect.

After being detained a month on board the Cherub, in the harbour, the rest of the prisoners of war were landed; and Mr. Sumpter, after many fruitless attempts, was at length enabled to purchase a fishing smack, of 80 tons burthen, to convey them home. By the 8th of February, 1815, the heat had become so oppressive as to make it almost insufferable to venture out; the mean temperature of the air being about 89°. No rain had fallen for some days; and the dust of the streets, together with the heat of the atmosphere, prevented the citizens from walking or riding any distance with comfort, except when the cool sea-breezes blew into the Bay. To his extreme surprise and regret, Mr. Sumpter was this day notified by the British consul-general, that the cartel could not be permitted to proceed, in consequence of instructions received from England, *on the 28th of December last*. Many doubted this allegation; for they could not believe that admiral Dixon and the consul-general were so far lost to a sense of honour, as to put Mr. Sumpter to the trouble and expense of purchasing a vessel, and, by their own act, constituting that vessel a cartel in due form, and then, a month after, when the cartel was on the eve of sailing, to countermand these solemn stipulations, solely on account of instructions received forty-two days before. If it be admitted, that instructions to that effect were actually received on the 28th of December, as alleged by the consul-general, then was not he, or admiral Dixon, in duty bound to apprise Mr. Sumpter of that fact, before they assented to his purchase of the vessel, and before even they themselves constituted that vessel a cartel? For my own part, I confess myself unable to construe the matter in any other light, than as a wanton breach of honour, and a shameful violation of the terms of a written agreement, *officially* entered into between the legal representatives of two separate states.

A brig from England brought the preliminaries of peace between that country and the United States of America, on the 25th, and on the 17th of March, lieut. Gamble and Captain Whittemore engaged passages in a Swedish ship for Portsmouth, England. The ship sailed on the 22d, but the former was prevented, by a severe bilious attack, from going in her; and Captain Whittemore proceeded on the voyage alone. Being advised, however, by his physician, to leave the place as soon as possible, lieut. Gamble agreed for a passage to England in the British packet, and made the necessary preparations for his departure. But the English minister refused to grant him a passport—and of course he was obliged to remain. On the 10th of April, however, he once more engaged a passage in the Swedish ship *Good Hope*; and after a farther delay of six weeks, was so fortunate as to enter upon the Voyage to Havre de Grace, in France, whither the vessel was bound.

The track of this voyage is so well known, that I need scarcely detain my readers with any farther remarks. But as some of them, no doubt, will be anxious to accompany lieut. Gamble to the United States, seeing they have already followed him so far, I shall, for their satisfaction, take a rapid view of this part of his narrative, before closing this work.

The *Good Hope* being deeply laden, and, withal, a dull sailer, no great prospect appeared of a speedy passage. Her general progress through the water varied from two to four knots; and, owing to adverse winds and currents, she was 300 miles farther from the port of destination, on the 7th day out, than when at Rio de Janeiro. After being sixteen days at sea, however, she again came up with the latitude of her departure, and at midnight, on the 14th of June, crossed the Equinoctial line. The phosphoric glittering of the sea, on the evening of the 25th, far exceeded every thing of the kind lieut. Gamble had ever witnessed. The surface of the water had a grand and brilliant appearance, and the wake of the ship, as far as the eye could reach, seemed like one vast sheet of fire.

But a happier prospect, in due course of time, began to dawn upon the exhausted spirits of lieut. Gamble; for the *Good Hope*, like the snail, *slow and sure*, by the 30th of July brought him in sight of the American flag; and the next day he had the good fortune to remove on board the

Oliver Elsworth, fifteen days from Havre de Grace, bound to New-York. The captain of this ship treated him in the politest manner; and on the 27th of August, after encountering a dreadful gale, lieut. Gamble had the inexpressible joy, to come once more within view of his native land, after an absence of two years and ten months.





## APPENDIX.

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EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COMMODORE HILLYAR TO ME.

*Phæbe, April 4th, 1814.*

MY DEAR SIR,

NEITHER in our conversations, nor in the accompanying letter, have I mentioned your sword. Ascribe my remissness in the first instance to forgetfulness; I consider it only in my servant's possession with my own, until the master may please to call for it; and although I omitted, at the moment of presentation, from my mind being much engrossed in attending to professional duties, to offer its restoration, the hand that received will be most gladly extended to put it in possession of him who wore it so honourably in defending his country's cause.

Believe me, my dear sir, very faithfully yours,

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

*Captain Porter.*

A return of the killed, wounded, and missing, on board the late United States frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns and two hundred and fifty-five men, David Porter, Esq. commander, in an action fought on the 28th of March, 1814, in the port of Valparaiso, with the British frigate *Phæbe*, of thirty-six guns and three hundred and twenty men, James Hillyar, Esq. commander, and the sloop of war *Cherub*, mounting twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men, commanded by T. Tucker, Esq.

*Killed in action, and have since died of their wounds.*

James P. Wilmer, first lieut.	George Hill, ward-room
John G. Cowel, acting 3d	cook.
lieutenant.	George Wyne, seaman,
Henry Kennedy, boatswain's	Joseph Ferrell, ditto,
mate.	Samuel Miller, ditto,

W. Smith, boatswain's mate.	Thomas Johnson, seaman,
Francis Bland, qr. master.	Philip Thomas, ditto,
Rheul Marshall, qr. gunner.	Thomas Nordyke, ditto,
Thomas Baily, boats yeo.	William White, ditto,
John Adams, cooper.	Thomas Mitchell, ditto,
Wm. Johnston, carp. crew.	William Lee, ditto,
Henry Vickers, ditto,	Peter Allan, ditto,
Zach. Mayfield, arm. crew.	John Alvison, ditto,
William Christopher, cap- tain forecastle.	John C. Kilian, ditto,
Nathaniel Jones, capt. mast.	Benjamin Hazen, ditto,
Joseph Thomas, captain maintop.	Peter Johnston, ditto,
John Russel, ditto,	Thomas Brannock, ditto,
Francis Green, captain's ser- vant.	Thomas Brown, ditto,
Frederick Hall, seaman,	Cornelius Thompson, ditto,
James Anderson, ditto,	John Lings, ditto,
George Hallet, ditto,	George Douglass, ditto,
Thomas Terry, ditto,	John Ripley, ditto,
Charles F. Norgran, ditto,	James Folger, ditto,
John Powell, ditto,	Daniel F. Casimere, ditto,
Thomas Davis, ditto,	William Jennings, ditto,
James Sellers, ditto,	Mark Hill, ditto,
John Clinton, ditto,	William Lee, ditto,
Robert Brown, ditto,	George Beden, ditto,
John Jackson, ditto,	Thomas Russell, ditto,
	Lewis T. Earle, ditto,
	Henry Buff, ditto,
	Wm. Williams, ditto.—58.

*Severely wounded.*

Edward Barnewall, acting master,	Isaac Vallenge, capt. stew- ard,
Edward Linscott, boatswain,	Leonard Green, quarter- gunner,
Wm. Kingsbury, boatswain,	Enoch M. Miley, ditto,
Essex Junior,	William Whitney, captain foretop,
George Rensinger, master at arms,	Thomas Milburn, captain mast,
Bennet Field, armourer,	Ephraim Baker, captain waist,
Otis Gale, armourer's crew,	Emero Males, seaman,
Jasper Reed, ditto,	
John M'Kinzey, ship car- penter,	



John Stone, seaman,  
 John Lazaro, ditto,  
 William Wood, ditto,  
 Francis Trepanny, ditto,  
 John Penn, ditto,  
 George Williams, ditto,  
 James Postell, ditto,  
 William Cole, ditto,  
 Henry Barker, ditto,  
 John Glasseau, ditto,  
 James Goldsborough, ditto,  
 Jacob Lodaway, ditto,

Peter Anderson, seaman,  
 John Johnson, ditto,  
 Peter Ripple, ditto,  
 Thomas Oliver, ditto,  
 George Shields, ditto,  
 William Hamilton, ditto,  
 Thomas Andrews, ditto,  
 Daniel Gardner, ditto,  
 William Nichols, ditto,  
 Benjamin Bartley, ditto,  
 Samuel M'Isaacs, ditto.—39.

*Slightly wounded.*

D. G. Faragut, midshipman,  
 George W. Isaacs, ditto,  
 John Langley, carpenter,  
 John Wible, carpenter's  
 mate,  
 John Reuss, carpenter's  
 crew,  
 Benj. Wadden, carptr.'s yeo,  
 William Boyd, carpenter's  
 crew,  
 David Navarro, sail-maker,  
 John Francis, captain's cox-  
 swain,  
 Levi M'Cabe, quarter-mas-  
 ter,  
 George Stotenberg, captain's  
 after-guard,  
 Wm. M'Donald, drummer,

George Brown, captain's ser-  
 vant,  
 Shubal Cunningham, sea-  
 man,  
 Robert Scatterby, ditto,  
 Antonio Sallee, ditto,  
 William Matthews, ditto,  
 George Love, ditto,  
 William Concord, ditto,  
 Daniel Hide, ditto,  
 James Middleton, ditto,  
 Daniel Smith, ditto,  
 Joseph Williams, ordinary  
 seaman,  
 Frederick Hartwell, ditto,  
 William Burton, ditto,  
 John Jacks, ditto. Total, 26.

*Missing.*

George Martin, gunner's-  
 mate,  
 Adam Roche, quarter-gun-  
 ner,  
 John Thompson, quarter-  
 master,  
 Francis Davis, seaman,

James Chase, seaman,  
 Barth. Tuckerman, ditto,  
 Matthew Lawder, ditto,  
 William Holmes, ditto,  
 John Bagnell, ditto,  
 Thomas Hobbs, ditto,  
 Robert Harrison, ditto,

Edward Leford, seaman,	James M'Rea, seaman,
Thomas Parsons, ditto,	James Mahony, ditto,
Hugh Gibson, ditto,	John Deacon, ditto,
James Domas, ditto,	Simon Rodgers, ditto,
Thomas Carroll, ditto,	Elias W. Saddus, ditto,
Charles Moore, ditto,	John Owens, boy,
William Holland, ditto,	William Forseyth, ditto,
Henry Humphries, ditto,	George Slousher, marine,
William Taylor, ditto,	Thomas Ayres, ditto,
Charles M'Carty, ditto,	George Gable, do. Total 31.

## RECAPITULATION.

Killed and have since died of their wounds,	-	58
Severely wounded,	- - - -	39
Slightly wounded,	- - - -	26
Missing,	- - - -	31
Total,		154

After some conversation on the subject, the following correspondence took place :

*Valparaiso, April 4th, 1814.*

SIR,

TAKING into consideration the immense distance we are from our respective countries, the uncertainty of the future movements of his Britannic majesty's ships under my command, which precludes the possibility of my making a permanent arrangement for transporting the officers and crew late of the Essex, to Europe, and the fast approaching season which renders a passage round Cape Horn in some degree dangerous : I have the honour to propose for your approbation, the following articles, which I hope the government of the United States, as well as that of Great Britain, will deem satisfactory : and to request that, should you conceive them so, you will favour me with the necessary bond for their fulfilment.

1. The Essex Junior to be deprived of all her armament, and perfectly neutralized ; to be equipped for the voyage solely and wholly at the expense of the American government ; and to proceed with proper American officers and crew (of which I wish to be furnished with a list for

the purpose of giving the necessary passport) to any port of the United States of America that you may deem most proper.

2. Yourself, the officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, &c. composing your crew, to be exchanged immediately on their arrival in America, for an equal number of British prisoners of similar rank—Yourself and officers to be considered on their parole of honour until your and their exchange shall be effected.

In case of the foregoing articles being accepted, the *Essex Junior* will be expected to prepare immediately for the voyage, and to proceed on it before the expiration of the present month; should any of the wounded at that period be found incapable of removal, from not being sufficiently advanced in their recovery, the most humane attention shall be paid them; and they shall be forwarded home by the first favourable conveyance that may offer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,

*Late Commander of the United States Frigate Essex, Valparaiso.*

*Valparaiso, April 5th, 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your several favours of yesterday's date—

The conditions offered by you for our return to the United States are perfectly satisfactory to me, and I entertain no doubts of their being equally so to my country. I therefore do not hesitate to pledge my honour (the strongest bond I can give) that every article of the arrangement shall on our part be fully complied with. A list of the *Essex Junior's* crew shall be furnished you as soon as it can be made out, and her disarmament effected with all possible despatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

DAVID PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding his  
Britannic majesty's frigate Phæbe,  
Valparaiso.*

Commodore Hillyar sent me a paper certifying, that he had exchanged certain individuals therein named, making



part of the crew of the Sir Andrew Hammond, for an equal number of the most severely wounded of my crew; this occasioned the following letters:

*Valparaíso, 4th April, 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE received a paper signed by you, dated yesterday, stating that you had exchanged certain wounded prisoners, making part of my crew, for the captain and crew of the prize ship Sir Andrew Hammond, which paper I have taken the liberty to return to you, and protest in the strongest terms against such arrangement.

In the first place, the wounded and helpless individuals therein named, do not wish such exchange. One died last night, and several others expect to share his fate.

Secondly, should I from any circumstance be separated from them, which would be more likely to be the case than if they remained prisoners, their situation would be more deplorable than it is at present. Thirdly, this arrangement has been made without my consent; and on terms far from offering equal advantages to the United States.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding  
H. B. M. frigate Phæbe.*

*H. B. M. ship Phæbe, Valparaíso, April 4, 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, protesting against the arrangement I made in the paper you returned, and to express a regret that my wish, which was to alleviate and not increase, the afflictions of your wounded officers and crew, has failed of being gratified. I am sorry you have thought proper to mention the dead and the dying, as I so fully explained to you this morning, that in the event of the loss of any, other names should be added to the list. I shall now direct captain William Porter to consider himself still a prisoner of war on his parole; but as I have ordered the people to go on board the Essex to work, under the impression that no difficulty would arise, will liberate in exchange for them an equal number of prisoners, as their names, being seamen, will be found to follow each other on

your late ship's books, and give up also two mates or midshipmen, for the two mates which are of the English party. I hope this may prove satisfactory to your government and self.

I am yours, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR.

*Captain D. Porter.*

*Valparaiso, 5th April, 1814.*

SIR,

THE arrangement which you have suggested respecting the exchange of the seamen of the *Sir Andrew Hammond*, for an equal number of the seamen of the late *United States Frigate Essex*, as they stand on the list furnished you, is perfectly satisfactory. It will be a great satisfaction to the three officers who accompany the *Essex*, to know that after your object in taking them with you shall be effected, there will be no difficulty in their proceeding immediately for the *United States*. I take the liberty therefore to suggest that they might be exchanged here for *Captain William Porter* and his three mates. This will be an accommodation to all parties, and reconcile the officers so exchanged to a separation from their friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*Commodore James Hillyar, commanding his  
majesty's frigate Phæbe.*

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A LIST OF PRISONERS LIBERATED ON PAROLE, TO PROCEED  
TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE *ESSEX JUNIOR*.

David Porter, captain,	H. W. Ogsden, midshipman,
William H. Odenheimer,	George Isaacs, ditto,
acting lieutenant,	D. G. Farragut, ditto,
Edward Barnewall, acting	James Terry, acting ditto,
master,	Samuel Dusenburg, ditto,
Richard K. Hoffman, acting	Wm. Pierce, master's mate,
surgeon,	Edward Linscott, boatswain,
Samuel B. Johnson, acting	George Green, boy,
marine officer,	Francis Barrel, ditto,
M. W. Bostwick, acting pur-	George Bartlet, seaman,
ser,	James Duffey, boy,
Alexander Montgomery, act-	James Nickerson, ditto,
ing surgeon's mate,	Isaac Bly, seaman.

Benjamin Hamilton, quarter-gunner,	London Reed, ordinary seaman,
Samuel Leach, seaman,	John Robinson, ditto,
George Stolenburg, ditto,	Amboy Howland, ditto,
James Midford, ditto,	John Harris, ditto,
Peter B. Vole, ditto,	Abraham Jackson, ditto,
William Robins, ditto,	Gadet Gay, ditto,
John Hollum, ditto,	James Ocean, boy,
Joseph Johnson, ditto,	Paul Mosure, ordinary seaman,
William Boyd, ditto,	Peter Amey, seaman,
Charles Duvéal, ditto,	John Terry, ditto,
Daniel Smith, ditto,	Samuel Jones, ordinary seaman,
James Middleton, ditto,	John Harclay, ditto,
John Cresup, ditto,	Samuel West, quarter-master,
James Galley, ditto,	Andrew Smith, seaman,
John Downhill, ditto,	Thomas Ewing, ditto,
John Haden, cook,	Frederick Barnes, ditto,
Robert Stanwood, seaman,	Daniel Lombard, ditto,
Daniel Ross, quarter-gunner,	Anthony Cook, ditto,
Nicholas Johnston, seaman,	Barnet Sparling, ditto,
Robert Scatterly, ditto,	Shubael Cunningham, ditto,
Adam Williams, ord. seaman,	Gave Robertson, ditto,
Mark Antonio, seaman,	Samuel Johnson, ditto,
Thomas O. Loud, boy,	William Foster, ditto,
Nicholas Richter, seaman,	Jeremiah Bewell, ditto,
John White, seaman,	Sylvester Smith, ditto,
James Clark, ditto,	George Brown, ditto,
George Rex, ditto,	James Redding, ordinary seaman,
William Cullers, ditto,	Thomas Coleman, steward,
Marshal Gelles, ord. seaman,	John Davis, ordinary seaman,
Robert Taylor, ditto,	Matthew Tuckerman, ditto,
Mark Scott, seaman,	Severn Denton, seaman,
Thomas Edwards, gunner's yeo.	John Johnson, ditto,
John Gallagher, seaman,	Bennet Field, armourer,
James Spencer, boy,	George Kensinger, master at arms,
Samuel Howard, seaman,	
Francis Lemos, ord. seaman,	
John Batchelor, seaman,	
Robert Isgrig, ditto,	



John Stone, seaman,	Peter Anderson, seaman,
Francis Trepanny, ditto,	Peter Ripple, ditto,
George Williams, ditto,	John Glasseau, ditto,
Jacob Lodaway, ditto,	Isaac Valance, quarter-mas-
Thomas Milburn, ditto,	ter,
John Penn, ditto,	George Love, seaman,
Henry Barker, ditto,	Samuel M'Isaacs, boy,
William Hamilton, ordinary	William Godfrey, seaman,
seaman,	Jasper Reed, ditto,
Daniel Gardner, ditto,	Frederick Hartwell, ordina-
William Kingsbury, boat-	ry seaman,
swain's mate,	Ephraim Baker, ditto,
William Nichols, ordinary	Charles Hayes, quarter-gun-
seaman,	ner,
James Postell, seaman,	Otis Gale, seaman,
Benjamin Bartley, ordinary	William Whitney, seaman,
seaman,	Leon Green, quarter-mas-
James Goldsborough, sea-	ter,
man,	William Cole, seaman.
William Wood, ditto,	

## MARINES.

P. G. Small, sergeant,	George Fritz, private,
John B. Yarnall, private,	John Andrews, ditto,
William Whitney, ditto,	Thomas King, ditto,
Henry Ashmore, ditto,	Isaac Stone, ditto,
John Fulsner, ditto,	Total, - - - - 182

COPY OF THE PASSPORT GIVEN BY CAPT. HILLYAR TO THE  
ESSEX JUNIOR.

*By James Hillyar, Esq. Captain of his majesty's ship  
Phæbe, and senior officer of his majesty's ships in  
Valparaiso Bay.*

I HEREBY CERTIFY, that I have, on the part of his  
Britannic Majesty, entered into an agreement with Captain  
David Porter, of the United States navy, and late com-

mander of the frigate *Essex*, who, on the part of his government, engages as follows, to wit :

That himself, his officers and crew, will proceed to the United States in the ship called the *Essex Junior*, as a cartel, commanded by lieut. John Downes, of the United States navy, and having a crew, consisting of the officers and men named in the annexed list.

That the said Captain Porter, his officers and crew, a list of which is subjoined, will remain on board on parole, not to take arms against Great Britain until regularly exchanged ; and that he pledges his honour to fulfil the foregoing conditions.

I therefore request, that the said ship the *Essex Junior*, may be permitted to pass freely to the United States, without any impediment—and that the officers commanding his majesty's ships of war, as well as private armed vessels, and all others in authority under the British government, as also those in alliance with his said majesty, will give the said David Porter, his officers and crew, and the crew of the aforesaid ship called the *Essex Junior*, every aid and assistance, to enable them to arrive at the place of their destination.

And as it may become necessary for the *Essex Junior* to touch at one or more places for the purpose of obtaining refreshments and supplies, it is requested, that in such case, all to whom this passport may be presented, will give the persons on board said ship every facility in supplying their wants, and permit them to depart with her, without hindrance.

Given under my hand, on board his majesty's ship  
*Phœbe*, at Valparaiso, April, 1814.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR

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*Navy Department, July 13, 1814.*

SIR,

I HAVE before me your letter of the 9th, which has been exhibited to the President, and received his attention.

The conduct of the commander of the *Saturn* has excited in his breast, as it must in every liberal and correct mind, the most indignant feelings.

The history and the presence of the brave remnant of the crew of the *Essex*, was alone calculated to inspire a generous sympathy, and courteous demeanour, though the highest safeguard known to civilized warfare had not guaranteed their exemption from molestation ; and it is difficult to reconcile the absence of those feelings with the character which Captain Nash doubtless aspires to.

The circumstances of your escape from the *Essex Junior*, while under detention, would, it is believed, sustain yourself and your government in dissolving your parole ; but as the *Essex Junior* was suffered to proceed under the original passport, though indecently detained and rudely treated, the scrupulously exact and liberal conduct of the government of the United States, in despite of the injustice and illiberality which it has received from the hands of the enemy, may possibly induce the President to waive the right which the violation in this case would enable him to assert.

The matter, however, is still under consideration, and will be decided upon in due time.

Your officers will, for the present, and until further order can be taken, remain attached to the *Essex Junior*. Your crew will be immediately paid off, upon a requisition being made upon the agent at New-York for the amount of the balances due them, which shall be remitted to him without delay. I have this day accepted purser Shaw's bills for \$29,000, approved by yourself.

You will proceed to join your friends at your pleasure ; and, after having consoled them for your long absence, and reposed yourself, we shall be gratified with your presence here.

The court of inquiry will be ordered to be held either in Philadelphia or New-York, as may best suit your convenience. I confirm the purchase of the *Essex Junior*, for the navy of the United States, at the sum of \$25,000. You will please to transmit to this department the valuation made by the persons appointed by you for that purpose.

I am very respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. JONES.

*Captain David Porter, U. S. Navy,  
New-York.*



COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PORTER TO THE  
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant.

You have no doubt before this received the passport given by Captain Hillyar, as well as further particulars from Captain Downes, in relation to the conduct of the captain of the *Saturn*. Captain Downes and the rest of the officers are fully of opinion that my escape alone was the cause of the liberation of the *Essex Junior*. I was a prisoner on parole, the conditions on which that parole was accepted were not respected; I was consequently no longer bound; I had the right of absolving myself from parole; I did so, and tendered myself a prisoner, offering to return my sword—the acceptance of which was refused. I could obtain no satisfactory information as to their intentions, and made my escape. Under such circumstances, I hope my country will never subject me to the humiliation of an exchange. It would be the cause of more triumph to the British naval officers than even the capture of the *Essex*. I am willing to take upon myself the risk of all consequences which may result from my being again taken prisoner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

D. PORTER.

*To the honourable Secretary of the Navy.*

*Office of Commissary General of Prisoners, August 10, 1814.*

SIR,

I BEG leave to transmit you, herewith, copies of three letters, of the 3d, 4th, and 9th instant, which have passed between Col. Thomas Barclay, the British Agent for prisoners of war, and myself, in relation to an exchange, proposed by me, of Captain Porter and the officers and crew of the United States' late frigate *Essex*.

You will remark, Sir, that the British Agent, although he considers, under the practice of his government, that their paroles "are null, and the officers and men at liberty to serve in like manner as if they had not been made prisoners," declines to exchange them against British officers and crews similarly situated: for these and other reasons,

given in my letter to him of the 9th instant, I have been instructed by the Secretary of State to declare the officers and crew of the Essex discharged from parole.

I have, therefore, the honour to announce to you, that Captain David Porter and other officers and the crew of the United States' late Frigate Essex, captured in March last, by the British ships of war under the command of Captain Hillyar, are accordingly declared discharged from their paroles taken by the said Captain Hillyar, and as free to serve, in any capacity, as if they had never been made prisoners.

I have the honour to be,  
With great respect, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

J. MASON.

*The Honourable William Jones,  
Sec'y of the Navy.*

The foregoing is a copy of a letter this day received from the Commissary General of prisoners, in conformity with which the Commander and the other officers and the crew of the United States' late Frigate Essex are hereby declared "discharged from their paroles, and are as free to serve, in any capacity, as if they had never been made prisoners." You will therefore, govern yourself by this declaration, and communicate it to every officer and man concerned, in order that they may hold themselves in readiness for such service as may be required of them by this Department.

I am, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
W. JONES.

Navy Department, Aug. 11, 1814.

*Captain David Porter, U. S. Navy,  
Chester, Penn.*

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SMITH THOMPSON, ESQ. SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

*Department of State, Washington, 2d March, 1821.*

SIR,

THE late Commodore Decatur having intimated a wish that an Inquiry should be instituted, through this De-

partment, in relation to his nephew, Lieutenant M'Knight and his companion, Midshipman Lyman, the necessary instructions were immediately given upon the subject; and I have the honour to send you, for the information of Colonel Decatur, the enclosed extract from a communication of Mr. Rush to this Department, in pursuance of the instructions referred to; by which it appears that these unfortunate young men were transferred from the Swedish vessel, in which they had embarked at Rio de Janeiro, to the United States sloop of war Wasp, (which is supposed to have perished at sea) on their voyage to England.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MR. RUSH TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

[COPY.]

*London, April 7, 1820.*

SIR,

On the receipt of your despatch, No. twenty-two, respecting Lieutenant M'Knight and Midshipman Lyman, which has heretofore been acknowledged, I thought it it would be best, before addressing myself to the Swedish Vice Consul at Dartmouth, to request of the Swedish minister at this Court, Baron Steirnel, that he would have the goodness to write a line to him, to say who I was, thinking thereby to ensure the more effectually a due attention to my communication.

Accordingly on the twenty-second of last month, the day after I was honoured with your despatch, I addressed to the minister a note, of which a copy is herewith sent, and on the twenty-fourth received an answer, accompanied by a letter directed to the Vice Consul, as I had requested. On the same day I proceeded to write myself to the Vice Consul such a letter as appeared best calculated to obtain all the information it might be in his power to afford, touching these two American officers, and transmitted with it the letter from the minister. A copy of my letter is enclosed. It seems that the Vice Consul had left Dartmouth for London before my letter reached him; but that he replied to it from London on the third day of this month. I



send his original letter. According to one of the suggestions in it, I thought proper to see him in person, and on the 4th instant wrote a note inviting him to an interview yesterday. He came, and brought the extracts from the log-book, which he had professed himself ready to produce.

These also I send, for greater satisfaction, in his own handwriting, reserving copies.

It will be seen from them, and with great interest, that the young men did in truth embark as his passengers from Rio de Janeiro for England, in the Swedish brig *Adonis*, on the twenty-second of August, 1814, but that on the ninth of October following they left his vessel, and went on board the United States' sloop of war *Wasp*, which crossed their path upon the ocean. They have thus, no doubt, perished with all who were in that gallant ship. I have not thought it necessary to ask any more formal statement from Mr. Mollen. There is no reason to question the fairness of that he has afforded. He bears every appearance of being a highly respectable man. He had not before heard of the loss of the *Wasp* but through a vague rumour. These young gentlemen had evidently endeared themselves to him on their passage; he uttered a warm tribute to their merits, and joined in deploring their melancholy fate.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

RICHARD RUSH.

CAPTAIN MOLLEN TO RICHARD RUSH, ESQ.

*April 3, 1820.*

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your respected favour of the 24th ult., together with the Baron de Steirnel's of the same date. I waited on the Baron last Thursday, and communicated to him what I knew respecting Messrs. McKnight and Lyman, and would have attended your pleasure on Saturday, but was unexpectedly prevented.

The present is to solicit the favour of your appointing the day and time I may have the honour of waiting on you for the same purpose, and to know if you would wish me

to bring extracts from the Log-book, which is in my possession still.

I would not have presumed to take this precaution, only I am rather in ill health, and the distance being very great, as I am in London, I think a personal communication on this subject would be the most satisfactory to yourself; but I am equally willing to give a written statement of the facts if you please.

Ready at all times to attend your commands,

I have the honour to remain,

With the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. G. MOLLEN.

No. 43, Broad-street, Ratcliff.

#### EXTRACTS.

*Extracts from the Journal kept on board the Swedish brig Adonis, during a voyage from Rio de Janeiro, towards Falmouth, in the year 1814.*

August 22—Left Rio de Janeiro. Stephen Decatur McKnight, and James Lyman, passengers for England.

Oct. 9—In lat.  $18^{\circ} 35'$  north, long.  $30^{\circ} 10'$  west, sea account, at 8 o'clock in the morning discovered a strange sail giving chase to us, and fired several guns; she gaining very fast. At half past 10 o'clock hove to, and was boarded by an officer dressed in an English doctor's uniform, the vessel also hoisted English ensign. The officer proceeded to examine my ship's papers, &c. &c., likewise the letter-bags, and took from one of them a letter to the victualling office, London. Finding I had two American officers as passengers, he immediately left the ship, and went on board the sloop of war; he shortly after returned, took the American gentlemen with him, and went a second time on board the sloop. In about half an hour he returned again with Messrs. McKnight and Lyman, and they informed me that the vessel was the United States sloop of war the Wasp, commanded by Captain Bleaky, or Blake, last from France, where she had refitted; had lately sunk the Reindeer, English sloop of war, and another vessel

which sunk without their being able to save a single person, or learn the vessel's name—that Messrs. McKnight and Lyman had now determined to leave me and go on board the *Wasp*—paid me their passage in dollars at 5s. 9d. and having taken their luggage on board the *Wasp*, they made sail to the southward. Shortly after they had left, I found that Lieut. McKnight had left his writing desk behind; and I immediately made signal for the *Wasp* to return, and stood towards her; they, observing my signals, stood back, came along side, and sent their boat aboard for the writing desk, after which they sent me a log-line and some other presents, and made all sail in direction for the line; and, I have reason to suppose, for the convoy that passed on Thursday previous.”

In addition to the above, I beg leave to state, that, in consequence of the forementioned letter having been taken away, I gave notice at the post office at Falmouth of my having been boarded by the *Wasp*, and Messrs. McKnight and Lyman joining her.

[No. 1.]

*Rio de Janeiro, August 13, 1814.*

SIR,

HAVING been directed by Capt. Porter, in pursuance of some arrangement entered into between him and Capt. Hillyar, of the *Phœbe*, to come with the latter to this place, or to go to England, should it be required of us—We accordingly arrived here, and Capt. Hillyar, according to his promise, having given us the option of parting with him here, or accompanying him to England, we have been induced to prefer the separation here, because the time of his return to England is uncertain, and may be distant, and, because we are extremely anxious, being already exchanged, to return into the service. He has furnished us with protections, and we find an opportunity of going to England in a Swedish vessel, which will sail the day after to-morrow; and as there appears no chance of going more directly home, we are under the necessity of asking the favour of you to furnish us with the means of making the voyage to England, and from thence to the United States. We calculate that nine hundred dollars will answer our



purpose, and we will be much obliged if you can make any arrangements to procure us that sum.

We have the honour to be

Your obedient servants,

Signed,

S. D. McKNIGHT.

JAMES LYMAN.

To Thos. Sumpter, jr. Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary  
of the United States.

[No. 2.]

GENTLEMEN,

*Rio de Janeiro, 19th August, 1814.*

WITH every disposition imaginable to accommodate you personally, and to promote your views of getting home, I am sorry to say that I am entirely destitute of funds either public or private. The only mode in which I can serve you, and it appears to me to be the most regular, will be to endorse your bills on the Secretary of the Navy for the sum you desire, which may perhaps enable you to sell them here, though not without a great loss, or perhaps to agree with the Captain to receive your passage money in England, where probably you may sell the bill with little or no loss. This I will do, and have requested Mr. Rutter, should this arrangement answer, to make out bills in the above manner. This arrangement will enable you also, should you be enabled to obtain funds from any American Agent, to dispense with selling these bills.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Lieut. Mc Knight,

Mid'n. James Lyman. }

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) THOMAS SUMPTER, Jr.

[No. 3.]

SIR,

*Rio de Janeiro, August 19, 1814.*

LIEUTENANT McKnight and Midshipman Lyman, having been sent here by Captain Porter, with the Captain of the *Phoebe*, which captured the *Essex*, and they being anxious to get home by the way of England, the only one open to them at present, and having applied to me to advance them nine hundred dollars to enable them to do so, I have not been able to accommodate them in any other way than by endorsing their bills for that sum on the Secretary of the Navy. The neutral Captain with whom they embark has agreed to receive payment in England for their passage, and should they not find any provision there, they will sell these bills for that purpose. I have the honour to advise you of this circumstance, and request the favour of

you to explain the motive of my conduct to the Secretary of the Navy, as they will on their part, so that the bills may be taken up, and the matter settled with that Department according to the provisions prescribed in such cases, of which I have no knowledge. You will perceive, that for want of some previous arrangement by Captain Porter to meet such a case, I could hardly refuse these gentlemen this sort of arrangement. I have been also under the necessity of advancing ninety millreas here to Mr. Lyman, and other small sums for some of the wounded of the Essex who have been landed here, which I shall add to my accounts and draw for when I may find an opportunity of selling bills on your Department, which cannot now be done here without a very great loss, which I shall endeavour to avoid by sending them to another place for sale.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, Jun.

To the honourable James Monroe,  
Secretary of State.

[No. 4.]

*Memorandum from the office of Laurence Western, Esq.  
Swedish Consul at Rio de Janeiro.*

John Gabriel Mollen, formerly master of a Swedish brig, (the Adonis,) who sailed from Rio de Janeiro the 21st August for a port on the continent, to touch at England for orders, and there arrived. At present Mollen is Swedish Vice Consul at Dartmouth in England. For further particulars, apply at the Swedish Consul's Office in London.

N. B. This Memorandum was given me in July, 1819.

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, Jun.

The Supercargo's name was David Campbell, employed at that time by the house of Joseph and Olof Hall, and Dixon, of Gottenburgh.

[No. 5.]

THESE ARE TO CERTIFY, that Mr. Stephen Decatur McKnight, late a lieutenant of the United States Frigate Essex, has, since his capture, been regularly exchanged; that he has proceeded in his majesty's ship under my command, to Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of making an affidavit necessary for the condemnation of the Essex, and, under a promise from me, that he should be allowed to go to America by the first favourable opportunity, con-

sidering himself as on his parole of honour, not to act against Great Britain until his arrival there, or under the immediate protection of his own flag, free from molestation or detention.

I do therefore request, that the said lieutenant McKnight may be permitted to proceed accordingly ; and should the Swedish brig he now sails in, arrive in England, that he may be allowed to embark from thence for the United States, in such a manner as the lords commissioners of the admiralty, or the commissioners of the transport board, may be pleased to direct.

Given on board his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, at Rio de Janeiro, this 19th of August, 1814.

(Signed)

JAMES HILLYAR, *Captain*.

SIR,

*Rio de Janeiro, 24th Sept. 1819.*

WITHOUT being able to boast of any personal acquaintance with you, and without pretending to assume an interest in what concerns your family, beyond that which their public services have entitled all their countrymen to partake of, I take the liberty of offering to you all the information which I have been able to collect concerning Stephen Decatur McKnight, your nephew, of the *Essex* Frigate, whom I had the pleasure to know in the year 1814, and to esteem very highly, and whose probable loss on his way home I never can hear or think of without great sorrow.

The regard which I and all my family contracted for him during his short stay with us in that year, induced us to make frequent inquiries after him since his departure ; but although we have long had reason to apprehend that some accident had befallen him, we were never able to hear any thing certain of his fate, and that of his companion midshipman, Lyman.

I was surprised to hear in July from Captain Henly, of the Congress frigate, to whom I repeated my inquiries about him, that Mr. McKnight's relations had never heard any thing of him after he left this port, and that they believe, that the vessel in which he sailed for England never arrived there. My surprise at being informed that this was their opinion, arose from the following circumstances :

Having learned in 1816, that neither of these young gentlemen had ever returned to the United States, I inquired at the time, and found, nevertheless, that the vessel in



which they sailed for England had arrived there in safety. I therefore presumed, until I saw Captain Henley, that they must have been lost on the voyage, between England and the United States, and that their friends knew all that could be known or desired to be known, of their misfortune.

As they carried with them bills drawn by them on the Secretary of the navy, and endorsed by me for the express purpose of paying their passage, and copies of letters, such as these now enclosed to you, numbered 1, 2, 3, the last of which represents a special letter of advice to the Secretary of state, intended to accompany the bills; it becomes difficult to account for the vessel's arriving without them, and for their not being heard of in any way by the Secretary of the navy, or Secretary of state. You will perceive that if they arrived in England in the vessel in which they sailed, it was necessary for them to sell the bills there, which these letters refer to, to pay their passage that far; or otherwise, that they should have been furnished by our agent for prisoners there, with other means of doing so, and of going home, which would have brought their names in his accounts, and their arrival in, and their departure from, England, would have come to the knowledge of our government in one of these ways. On the other hand, as they left me without any other means of paying the Swedish captain than those to be derived from the sale of those bills in England, it was natural to presume, if they found an opportunity by leaving him, at sea, of getting home sooner, or of re-entering the service more expeditiously, which was the worthy motive of their impatience to depart from hence, and which was provided for in the paper, (No. 5,) that they would still have been obliged to transfer the bills to him for the same reason: and on this supposition the bills ought equally to have reached the Treasury soon after the arrival of the vessel in England, and the date of the transfer, or some other circumstance attending it, would probably have indicated how far they went in the Swedish vessel. But at all events, whatever became of the bills, as she reached England in safety, and her Captain is still there, according to the Memorandum, (No. 4,) he certainly must be able to give some account of them. The first question for him to answer is, if they did not reach England in his vessel, what did he do with them? The next is, if he was not paid from these bills, how was he paid?

I can see no way of resolving them, except by supposing

that they might have found another vessel at sea, and also the means of satisfying his demand otherwise in that vessel into which it was to suppose they passed from his. It certainly may be known from Captain Mollen how, when, and why, he parted with them. If they entered any other vessel, the fate of that vessel may be traced further, and may throw more light upon theirs than has hitherto been obtained. Perhaps they met with some of our cruisers; it may be with the unfortunate *Wasp*, which, according to what I remember of her cruise in that summer, may have crossed their path and taken them on board. There were, however, some privateers and letters of marque, which, about that period, left the American and European coasts for the purpose of cruising in the Indian and China seas, of whose return to the United States I have never heard. If it could be known, that from any cause they got on board any of the latter, and that any of them were wrecked upon the coasts of Africa or Asia, the discovery of these facts might authorize further inquiries after them; people who are wrecked on barbarous and desert coasts are not always lost. I should be sorry needlessly to excite fallacious hopes, or to contribute to revive unavailing anxieties on so delicate a subject as this is; but I really find it strange that this Captain should never have made any report, which seems to be the case, on his arrival in England, of such an incident as that of two passengers, whose destination was there, and whose profession was military, having left his ship at sea: I can see no reason why he should not have reported the fact at the first port he entered, either as a matter of obligation, custom, or news; and I can see none for theirs, desiring him to conceal the fact. Again, they may have been taken out of his ship by some British commander, who might have paid no respect to Captain Hillyar's exchange and protection, which I believe the British commander, who met with Captain Porter on our coast, was inclined to disregard; but I am equally at a loss to know why such commander or the Swede should suppress the publication of the fact.

No. 5 is a copy of Mr. McKnight's protection, which was taken by myself from the original given him by Captain Hillyar. That officer, who I know esteemed these young men, and your nephew in particular, very highly, gave him letters to England, and among them one for Mrs. Hillyar, who, as I understood, lived not far from Portsmouth

or Plymouth, desiring her to receive him and his companion into her house, to furnish them money if they wanted, and to treat them as if they were his children.

It would have been natural for them, if they left the Swedish ship voluntarily, to have sent on Mrs. Hillyar's letters, and even to have written to her. As Mr. Adams, who soon followed them to England with Captain Hillyar, was probably at his house, he might have known whether she received any notice of them from such letters.

It is true that it seems almost too late to found any hopes of success upon the inquiries which a knowledge of these facts may now revive on the part of their friends; but when it is considered how many things are possible which do not appear to be probable, and after all, how nearly possibilities are allied to probabilities, sometimes on the side of good fortune as well as of evil, their friends, I am sure, will excuse me for throwing before them these glimpses, by which their course, after they left this place, may be traced farther than it has yet been followed, and which may at last direct them to certainty respecting them, which to many minds is less affecting on such occasions than such doubts as hang about the history of these mysterious young men.

I have, sir, delayed sending you these papers longer than was necessary, since I received the information from Captain Henley. It was because I then expected to have been in the United States sooner than I am now certain of finding a conveyance sufficiently safe and commodious for transporting thither, at this season of the year, so large a family as I am encumbered with. I therefore will detain them from you no longer on that account, and I accompany them with the observations I have made on the subject to which they relate, not more for the purpose of acquitting myself of a melancholy duty to their relations than from the anxiety which I feel to have what seems to me to be a mysterious transaction explained, as far as possible, by the Swedish captain. I am sorry that I did not know some years that it was believed in the United States, that the vessel they were in, as well as themselves, never reached England, when these traces of them might have been more useful perhaps than they may be now.

If this communication should be thought by you to contain any thing interesting to Mr. McKnight's friends, it will also be so to those of Mr. Lyman.

I think he told me he was a native of Connecticut; that



he went to the N. W. Coast and to Chili, in an American brig, which was sold in the latter country before he entered the service in the Essex, under Captain Porter. Perhaps this officer can remember and trace his connexions, and he will, no doubt, willingly give them any information which these papers may convey to them.

At all events, it will convey some consolation to Mr. McKnight's friends, to know the circumstances which regard him, if they should never know any more; that, young as he was, he had already by his gallantry and good conduct, entitled himself to be esteemed by his countrymen and their enemies. For myself, I felt a pride, under the circumstances in which our acquaintance was formed, at meeting with such an American as he was, and I enjoyed much pleasure from witnessing the true devotion which he showed for the cause of his country, which he promised to serve both with advantage and dignity. I have been extremely loath to reconcile my mind to the conviction, that he had perished. I remember that he had a mother living when he was here, of whom he spoke with much affection, and I think also of a sister or sisters, for whom he took with him some presents.

If this should be the last news they may hear of him, it will not be destitute of some comfort for them. Besides his signature to one of these letters, and our regard for him, the only remembrances which we find in our possession, is an Indian sling, which he brought from the Washington Islands, and which he gave me as such at our parting. Perhaps, at his age, he considered it a trophy (for I hear that he displayed great valour there as well as in the action at Valparaiso;) however this may be, I do myself the honour to put it in your hands, Sir. It is not because I set too little value on it that I am willing to part with it; but because his family will find many more motives for valuing it than I can have, and by thus accepting it from me, they will at the same time do me the favour of accepting the only mark of respect which I have the means of showing, both for his memory, if that is all that lives, and for their feelings towards him.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

THOMAS SUMPTER, JUN.

*To Commodore Stephen Decatur.*























